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PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU:

His Life and Work

WITH

A FOREWORD

BY

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EDITED AND COMPILED

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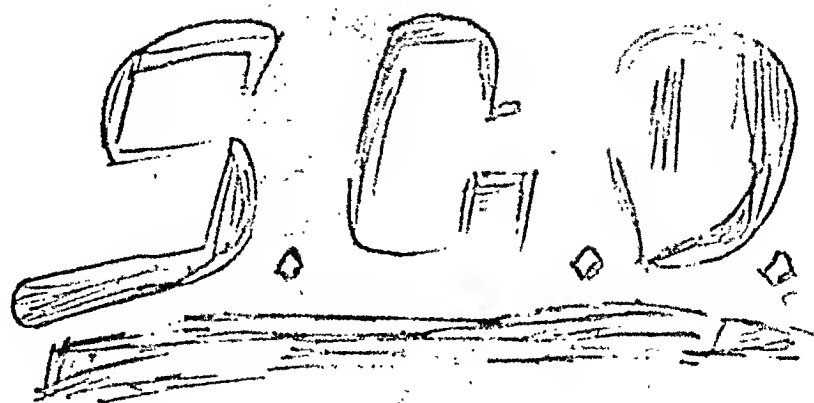
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Guren G. Dutta

PREFACE

We beg to lay before the public the following pages which contain a brief sketch of the life and career of late Pandit Motilal Nehru, one of the greatest of our leaders, whose death at this crisis of our national life has plunged the whole of India in the deepest mourning. This book contains further a full account of the last scenes, the funeral procession and the last rites, Panditji's Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress, held in 1928, and tributes from leading men, and appreciations in the press that have appeared on the occasion of his death. It also contains the full text of the constitution for India drafted in the Nehru Report. The book is also profusely illustrated on art paper and our heart felt thanks are due to the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" for having supplied us with blocks for the purpose. We have taken pains carefully to compile and edit the following pages from the various papers and publications which contained notices of our departed leader, to all of whom we hereby acknowledge our obligation and indebtedness.

We also thank our esteemed friend Prof. Deva-prasad Ghosh, M.A., B.L., the distinguished scholar and public man for having kindly written a foreword to this publication.

We can only hope that this attempt of ours to supply in a handy form a brief account of the life and work of Pandit Motilal will meet with encouraging response at the hands of our countrymen.

FEBRUARY 20, 1931.

Calcutta.

EDITORS.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It has been very gratifying to us to find that our efforts to place the life and career of our departed leader, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, in a brief compass, in the hands of our countrymen, have met with a most encouraging response. In barely six weeks' time the copies of the first edition have been entirely exhausted. And we have taken this opportunity, in the second edition, to make the life sketch of Panditji more exhaustive by incorporating in it much new material. We hope the book in this present edition will be still more useful to the public and will continue to meet with encouragement at their hands.

20TH. APRIL, 1931.

CALCUTTA.

EDITORS

FOREWORD

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru has removed from our midst a towering personality. Though his active participation in public life dates from a comparatively recent period, yet during this short dozen years or so he succeeded in creating for himself a unique position. In this meteoric rise to the supreme leadership of the affairs of the nation, the only parallel in recent years has been Deshabandhu Das, whose sudden demise the nation had to mourn barely six years ago.

What is most remarkable about Pandit Motilal's career and personality is the curious amalgam of contraries that has characterised them. By training and temperament a most level-headed man, a confirmed moderate in politics till well past his middle age, yet in the closing years of his career almost an inflexible revolutionary—an aristocrat to his finger-tips, an aristocrat in the best sense of the word, in family traditions, in culture, in character, yet the undisputed and universally beloved leader of the most democratic mass-movement in India's history—an intellectual sceptic, a brilliant lawyer, a successful man of the world, essentially modern in outlook, with a keen appreciation and thorough enjoyment of the good things of this world, yet in the evening of his life a most ardent disciple of Mahatma Gandhi with his rigorously

ascetic and almost mediæval outlook on life and affairs, at these are

wonderful career of this prince among men. And whosoever would understand Pandit Motilal must solve this riddle and get down to the inner soul of the man which harmonized this manifold variety.

As to the reactions on our public life—the disastrous reactions—of his death at this precise moment, in the very crisis of India's struggle for freedom, it were idle to expatiate. I think there was only one other death equally tragic, equally untimely—and the death of one, equally distinguished, equally the idol of India's millions—I mean the death of Lokamanya Tilak, which was comparable in its consequences. The death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in August, 1920, just when the new Constitutional Reforms were impending, and on the very eve of the non-co-operation movement, was a disaster whose magnitude it were difficult to fathom even now. But for Lokamanya's disappearance from the arena of Indian politics at that critical hour, India's history for the past ten years might have been differently written. And now, to-day in 1931, when India stands at the threshold of a new chapter of her destiny, and requires the unstinted services of her ablest sons in giving shape and form to that chapter, disappears Pandit Motilal Nehru—the one man who by virtue of his wide knowledge of men and affairs, his political sagacity, his ardent patriotism, and the supreme esteem in which he was held by his countrymen, might have been expected to be able to shape that chapter after India's aspirations.

Inscrutable are the ways of Providence, and it were idle for mere man to question or carp or complain. Our only consolation lies in the thought that He alone knows what is best for us; and our only prayer can be

"THY WILL BE DONE."

February 8, 1931. }
Calcutta.

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU



Born : 1861.

Died : 1931.

CHAPTER I

LIFE AND CAREER



Birth and Early Life

Seventy years ago, on May 6, 1861, Pandit Motilal Nehru was born at Delhi. He was the son of Pandit Gangadhar Nehru who had been a Kotwal and died a few months before Motilal was born. His forefathers migrated from Kashmir to British India. The Kashmiri Brahman community to which he belonged numbered about 5,000 in British India. Motilal was brought up under the loving care of his brother Pandit Nandalal Nehru, who had been at that time practising as a Vakil at Delhi.

Motilal was educated in the Muhammadan Makhtabs till the age of twelve and acquired a good working knowledge of Persian and Arabic. Afterwards he joined the Government High School at Cawnpore and passed the Entrance Examination in the first division. At the Muir Central College, Allahabad, where he underwent his collegiate course, he was a favourite student of the eminent educationist, Principal Harrison; and among his fellow-students at College were Sir Sundar Lal and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Pandit Nehru, however, did not appear for the B. A. Examination, having already chosen Law as his profession and in the short period

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

the efficiency which he devoted to the study of Law at efficiency enough to appear for the High examination and to top the list of the successful candidates.

Marriage

He married in the year 1882 Srijukta Swarup Rani. Swarup Rani was the daughter of an orthodox pious Brahman. She was a gifted and accomplished lady, and proved herself a worthy mate of her distinguished husband. Their conjugal life was a happy one. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is their only son and Mrs. Bijoy Lakshmi Pandit and Miss Krishna Nehru are the two daughters.

As Leader of the Bar

In 1883 Pandit Nehru began his practice as a Vakil at Cawnpore where, within the short period of three years, he built up a good name and secured a wide clientele. Among the friends that he made at that station was Pandit Prithvi Nath, a leading Vakil who had very great admiration for the ambitious young man. Partly under his advice, partly dissatisfied with remaining a mere local success at Cawnpore, Motilal joined the High Court Bar at Allahabad where within five or six years he reached a prominent place; the High Court enrolled him soon after as an Advocate and for long years he continued as one of the veteran lawyers of Northern India; appearing in almost every famous and costly litigation till he left, at the call of Non-Co-operation, his high place of leadership at the Bar to serve his country. As a lawyer, Pandit Motilal was famous for the strength

and directness of his advocacy; and as a champion of the people's cause he had, even before he had joined the Non-Co-operation movement, built himself a name. The courage with which he fought for the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech, undeterred by the frowns of office and uninfluenced by the admonitions of office-seekers, had already marked him out as the leader of his Province in all matters that concerned the people's good.

Political Career

Panditji entered active politics rather late in life. It was only in 1907, when he was forty-six years of age that he took a leading part in a notable public function, by presiding over the U. P. Provincial Conference held at Allahabad; but even then he did not come into much prominence outside his province. He was content to remain a humble camp-follower in the Moderate party, of which Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale were the shining lights.

Morley-Minto Reforms.

On the inauguration of the Morley-Minto reforms in 1909 he thought fit to participate more actively in public life, and became a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council. In the Council Chamber as well as in the several Committees in which he acted, his record, as might have been expected, was that of a thoroughly independent man, and he was always a severe critic of the administration. He was uncompromising in his attitude, once he was convinced of the correctness of his position, undeter-

red alike by public censure and official disfavour. Some instances of his fearless attitude can here be given. When the Jehangirabad Amendment relating to communal representation came up for discussion before the Council, he boldly spoke out his mind although the Opposition included such names as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and although the Press and the public in one accord were loud against him. He was convinced of the supreme need of effecting the reconciliation of the Muhammadan with the Hindu so that both might feel that they were Indians first and Hindus or Muhammadans only afterwards. Indeed, it was his noble and generous attitude in the matter of the Muslim demand for separate and even proportionately excessive representation in the government of the country that served to bring about a cessation of the frequent Hindu-Muslim feuds and paved the way for a happy *rapprochement* between the two communities in his province.

Another incident that showed the man's mettle happened in the October Session of the U. P. Legislative Council in 1917. Sir James Meston (as he then was) presided. The Pandit moved a resolution conveying to the Government the censure of the House regarding the conduct of Principal Wood of the Roorkee College in indulging in unwarranted aspersions on the character of Indians and he made a short speech on the occasion. The official Secretary referred to a letter of regret from Mr. Wood which, however, was not satisfactory as an apology. A debate thereupon ensued and Sir James Meston in

the end hastily wound up the proceedings and put the resolution to the vote without giving the Pandit an opportunity to have his final word in reply. Pandit Nehru's appeal to the President was in vain. When he realised that his rights were thus overlooked, the Pandit got up, told the President that he could not remain in the House and see his fundamental rights as a member thereof trampled under foot and left the Council Hall forthwith. And it taxed all the diplomatic skill of the Governor as well as the friendly persuasions of Sir Sundar Lal (one of his staunch friends since their days at the Muir Central College) to prevail upon him to return to the Council.

Home Rule Movement

In this manner, Pandit Motilal went on fighting for people's rights and against bureaucratic vagaries in the Legislative Council. But a more strenuous fight was impending, and that was ushered in by the Home Rule movement started by Mrs. Annie Besant in 1916. The whole world was then in the throes of the Great War and the fate of nations was hanging in the balance. It was at this fateful moment that Mrs. Besant started a whirlwind campaign for the assertion of India's right to self-determination and Home Rule. All the high-sounding professions of Britain and the Allied Powers, viz. that the War was being waged for the cause of freedom, for the cause of down-trodden peoples, for the cause of self-determination, etc., notwithstanding, the Government in India reacted to this movement by launching upon a campaign of severe repression, culminating in the internment of Mrs. Besant herself.

The whole country was astir, and it could not leave Pandit Motilal untouched. Though at the time he was a recognized Moderate and was one of the Directors of the *Leader*, a moderate Newspaper published from Allahabad, he felt his moderation giving way under the pressure of events; and he joined heart and soul in the Home Rule movement. On account of his commanding position at the Bar, Panditji very soon came to the forefront in the Home Rule movement, which also drew into active politics another great leader of the Bar, the late Mr. C. R. Das of Bengal. As a result of his coming into prominence as a Home Rule leader, he was elected President of the Special Session of the Provincial Conference.

The address he delivered on that occasion is memorable as one of the finest indictments of the policy and programme of repression carried out by the Government. The *Pioneer*, enraged at the boldness of the address, conferred on him the title of "Brigadier-General of the Home Rule League."

As a Journalist

It was about this time that he withdrew from the directorate of the *Leader* and became the Chairman of the Board of Directors owning the new nationalist daily, the *Independent*. The mission of the new paper was admirably set out by him in an early issue:—

Two ideals rule the world. Two realities strive for mastery. The ideal and reality of Spartacus, the reality and ideal of Epictetus. The one breaks his chains and the other bares his soul.

The *Independent* has come into existence to lay

bare the soul of a nation, of a people ripening into nationhood, of communities merging into a people, of individuals growing into a community. How shall it approach its noble work? Or better still how not?

Not along the facile line of opportunism, the fatal line of least resistance which stifles the soul and perverts the mind. Not by methods of cabal, camera and camarilla which bring no lasting good and help and only distort the outlook.

But by bringing the fierce light of day to play on dark spots wherever they exist. By giving expression to the plain expressions of the plain mind in plain language. By striving to press home the eternal truth that while on the one hand natural rights of mankind cannot be withheld to be doled out in little bits with a consciousness of high-minded generosity and a benignly benevolent purpose, those rights can not on the other hand thrive in an atmosphere of religious cleavage and racial antagonism.

Thus alone can the *Independent* fulfil its mission and join President Wilson in saying: "The select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world."

In conducting the *Independent*, Pandit Motilal had to incur considerable financial loss and he did it willingly as he was conscious how necessary such a

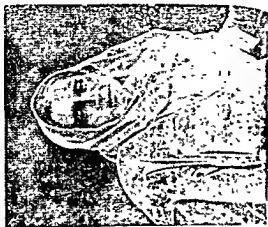
paper was for the education and progress of his country towards the goal of self-government.

The Montagu Announcement of 1917

The Home Rule agitation caused a great perturbation in England coming as it did in the midst of the Great War; and the British Cabinet felt it incumbent to allay the Indian unrest by a definite declaration of British policy in India; and thus came about the famous announcement of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, on the 20th August, 1917, declaring the ultimate goal of British policy in India to be the progressive realization of responsible Government in India.

This historic announcement was hailed with great relief and delight in political circles in India; particularly as it was accompanied with the withdrawal of repressive measures against the Home Rule movement, and the release of Mrs. Annie Besant herself. Mrs. Besant received a great ovation by being called upon to preside over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta. Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, himself came out in the winter of 1917-18 to India to see for himself the conditions in India, and to consult the leaders of Indian opinion. All these activities and gestures, which led people to think that Britain was at last earnest in her pledges brought about a great improvement in the Indian political situation; and the quarrel that had been going on between the Extremist and Moderate politicians for the preceding decade was temporarily suspended. Already in 1916, the Indian National





SWARUPANI



AS CONGRESS PRESIDENT

Moderates, had been thrown open to the Extremists; and this *rapprochement* took place in Lucknow. Then at the Calcutta Congress of 1917, although the Moderate leaders demurred at first to the election of Mrs. Besant, the Home Rule leader, as President, still ultimately the differences were made up, and it was Sir Surendranath Banerjca, the great Moderate leader, who actually, in the open Congress, proposed Mrs. Besant to the chair.

The Internments

This improvement in the relations between political India and Britain, and between the two wings of political India herself, was not however destined to last long. For though Mrs. Besant had been released from internment, there were many others numbering over a thousand, including the Ali Brothers who still remained interned under the Defence of India Act, a piece of War legislation. There were many other incidents, like the Komagata Maru Incidents, gun-running Bengal revolutionaries, etc. and consequent repression, that had been taking place all these war years which produced a great bitterness and tension in public feelings; and even while gestures of conciliation were being made by the British Cabinet, tales of torture and oppression practised upon the internees trickled from behind the prison-bars and kept up the bitterness. So the atmosphere of suspicion of Britain's real motives was not altogether dissipated.

Montagu-Chelmsford Report

It was in this atmosphere of mingled hope and trust that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report made appearance in July, 1918; and at once there was a great chaos and a parting of ways. That Report was felt to be a disappointing document by all parties; but while the Moderates felt that though the Report was not as good as might have been expected, still it represented a great improvement upon the previous state of things, and therefore the Reforms put into operation should be worked; the Extremist wing held that the Reforms proposed in the Report were thoroughly inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and should be regarded as utterly unacceptable. As a result of this serious schism, the Congress which the Extremists were only allowed to enter at Lucknow in 1916; and which was to some extent dominated by them at Calcutta in 1917, came forth to be exclusively controlled by them; the year 1918 marks the definite secession of the Moderates as a body from the Indian National Congress.

The End of the Great War and the Rowlatt Acts

The year 1918 marked also the end of the great world-war in which Britain and the Allied Powers came out victorious. In India however the end of the War was followed by rather unexpected developments. The Defence of India Act which was a war measure, and under which numerous persons had been interned as mentioned above, was due to expire after six months from the termination of the

tionary movement. Accordingly a committee was formed with Mr. Justice Rowlatt as President, which after investigating into the revolutionary activities in India came out with a report, recommending among other things internment without trial. Two Bills based on the Rowlatt report were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council, and despite all opposition, were passed into law on the 18th March, 1919.

The Moderate leaders headed by Sir Surendranath Banerjea opposed the passage of the Bills tooth and nail in the Imperial Legislative Council, and when the Government rode roughshod over all opposition, they walked out of the Council Chamber in protest. Meanwhile the feeling in the country against the Rowlatt Acts was intense. They were dubbed the "Black Acts". This determination on the part of the British authorities to arm themselves with most drastic War powers to put down popular movements, after all their tall talk about the war for freedom and self-determination and so forth, came as a profound shock, and greatly added to the volume of distrust and discontent already produced in the country by the halting and half-hearted nature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

The Satyagraha movement

And this immense popular discontent found a most powerful leader in Mahatma Gandhi, who had returned to India on the eve of the Great War with all the

prestige of his South African triumph. Mahatma Gandhi preached that since all the protests from Moderate leaders like Sir Surendranath were unavailing to move the stony hearts of the Bureaucracy, the only method left to an unarmed people was the adoption of *Satyagraha* and civil disobedience. He enunciated the following vow of *Satyagraha*:

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn we shall refuse civility to obey these laws and we further affirm that in the struggle we will faithfully follow the truth and refrain from violence to life, person, or property.

Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das were among the foremost to take up the *Satyagraha* vow and join the banners of Mahatma Gandhi in the strenuous fight against the Rowlatt Acts. There was a whirlwind campaign throughout the length and breadth of the country against these measures. The movement was strong everywhere, but the intensity was at its highest pitch in the Punjab.

Outbreak in the Punjab

The Punjab was particularly affected because the brunt of the war had fallen upon the Punjabees. Lakhs of soldiers had been recruited and crores of rupees as war-loans had been raised almost at the

point of the bayonet under the "thorough" regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. There had besides been great bitterness of feeling over the Komagata Maru incidents and the *Ghadar* conspiracy cases in which mainly Punjabee Sikhs were involved. On the top of all this came the Black Bills. Naturally the commotion in the Punjab was great.

The 30th March, 1919, was fixed by Mahatma Gandhi as a day of all-India *hartal* as a protest against the Black Acts. On that day there was unique demonstration in Delhi, when Swami Shraddhananda mounted the pulpit of the great Jumma Masjid, and preached the necessity of a united Hindu-Muslim fight against the Government. The feelings of the Muslims, too, had been strained to the breaking point on account of the attitude of Britain and the Allied Powers towards Turkey. This united Hindu-Muslim demonstration however led to great rioting and blood-shed owing to clash with the Government forces on the 30th March. There were similar incidents though on a minor scale, in some other places in the Punjab and elsewhere.

Mahatma Gandhi was very much pained to hear of these violent out-breaks, for non-violence was the very essence of his *Satyagraha*. He started from Ahmedabad on a visit to Delhi and the Punjab. But the Government did not allow him to go to Delhi; he was stopped at Kosi-Kalan station and turned back. This interference with Mr. Gandhi's movements lighted the spark to the already explosive situation in the Punjab.

Already on the 29th March, Government had passed

an order on Dr. Satyapal at Amritsar forbidding him to speak in any meeting.

The next day was the day of All-India Hartal. The Punjab groaning under the oppression of the war drain observed the Hartal with more than usual solemnity. All day the city of Amritsar looked like a deserted city. In the afternoon there was a mammoth meeting. About 35,000 persons under the leadership of Dr. Kitchlew took the vow of Satyagraha.

Then came the day of Ramanavami—a day which will be ever memorable in the history of India as one of the darkest days of British rule. May be India will see better days but the glorious blaze of those days will not be able to remove the darkness of this memorable day of suffering and humiliation.

On that day in the city of Amritsar a great procession was led out by Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew. It was the procession of Ramanavami but it turned into a national demonstration—the Muslims came and stood by the Hindus.

The Hindus and Muslims united in a national festival—this was too much for Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He saw that his house of cards was shaking in the wind and was about to fall down. The leaders of the procession, Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, were at once arrested on a charge of sedition; the Governor passed on them the sentence of deportation and the Deputy Commissioner took them to his own bungalow and from there sent them in a car to an unknown destination.

Immediately this news was circulated in the town, people in thousands came to join the procession and

proceeded towards the bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner in order to petition for the release of the popular leaders. As soon as the procession reached the Railway overbridge an armed force obstructed its progress and after calling upon it to disperse opened fire on it. This led to serious rioting. Several banks were burnt down and looted; several Government buildings were demolished and many Europeans were assaulted or murdered.

At various other places too in the Punjab similar riots broke out; railway lines were torn up, telegraph wires cut, and there was wide spread disturbance. And Amir Amanulla of Afghanistan declared war and his troops were on the move.

Martial Law and the Jallianwalabagh Massacre

Deeming the situation serious, the Government declared Martial law in the Punjab.

On the 11th of April Sir Michael handed over the government of Amritsar to the Military. On the 12th, General Dyer encamped at Ram Bagh in Amritsar.

In the morning of the 13th April General Dyer made a proclamation in Amritsar to the effect that both in the town and in the suburbs not more than four persons would be allowed to assemble together in the streets or any public places. Simultaneously with this proclamation it was proclaimed by the leaders that at 4 p. m. on that very day a mass meeting would be held in Jallianwala Bagh.

Jallianwala Bagh is a piece of fallow land surrounded by walls with only one narrow entrance. The meeting was held at the appointed hour. At

5 p. m. General Dyer arrived at the place of the meeting with 25 Gurkhas, 25 Sikh riflemen, 40 Pathans and two armoured cars. He drew up the ninety soldiers at the entrance and ordered them to open fire. 1660 shots were fired at the meeting and the assembled people were less than two thousand in number. No one was warned before opening the fire and no attempt was made to disperse the crowd. With the opening of the fire the mob ran away in terror; those who attempted to scale the wall were the first to be shot down; those who attempted to escape through the narrow entrance were heavily fired at. There was a veritable massacre.

Martial law atrocities were not confined to Amritsar alone; Lahore, Gujranwala and Malianwala also shared the same fate. The Punjab was in the grip of the martial law for several weeks. Almost all the nationalist leaders were sentenced to death or to transportation for life with forfeiture of property.

The accounts of the sufferings and insults undergone by the people of the Punjab reached every corner of India in spite of the rigid censorship. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, renounced his kinglyhood and roused universal agony of indignation as a protest against these inhumanities. The disproportionate severity of the punishment inflicted upon a disarmed people gave a shock to the firm faith that some people still had in our rulers' sense of justice and good government. It revealed to the people the helplessness of their position as British subjects in India.





FAMILY GROUP

The Reforms Act, 1919

While India was groaning under the horrors of the Martial Law Regime in the Punjab, and popular distrust and hopelessness were worse than ever, the British Government in England pressed on with the various stages of the Reform Bill, and it was passed into law on December 23, 1919. Naturally under the circumstances it was impossible to expect that there should be an unbiassed and dispassionate assessment of the merit of the new Reforms as the atmosphere was surcharged with gloom and passion. Still, Indian leaders, including even the Extremist leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, C. R. Das, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and others, were willing that the new Reforms should be given a fair trial, and urged upon the Government the desirability of making gestures of good will and conciliation to efface the terrible memories of the Martial Law days and also of appointing a committee to enquire into the military excesses in the Punjab.

The Government acceded to both these demands. The Hunter Committee was appointed to enquire into the Punjab disturbances and a Royal proclamation announced a general amnesty of political prisoners on the eve of the inauguration of the new Reforms. It was in these somewhat altered and improved circumstances that the Indian National Congress met at Amritsar in December, 1919.

Amritsar Congress

At this critical situation it was absolutely necessary that the Congress should be presided over by a man

who could give a clear and definite shape to the hope and aspiration of the country. Undoubtedly Pandit Motilal was such a man and at the instance of the Mahatma and at the desire of the public, Panditji was elected to the chair.

In course of his Presidential address at Amritsar, Pandit Motilal said:

"We must do reverence to the sacred memory of the dead who were killed in Amritsar and elsewhere in the Punjab, and to the living who were put to indignities worse even than death and suffered the most shameful barbarities. No monument of marble or bronze is needed to consecrate their memory. Our speeches here will be forgotten, the resolutions you pass may in the future have interest only for the historian, but India will never forget the sacrifices and the sufferings of these children of hers.

But through the surrounding gloom has come a ray of bright sunshine which has cheered up many a suffering individual and family in India. His Majesty the King-Emperor has, on the eve of this great meeting, been graciously pleased to send out to us a message of his Royal clemency, to be exercised by the Viceroy in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, to all political offenders suffering imprisonment or restriction on their liberty. It is the sentiments of affection and devotion with which His Majesty and his predecessors have been animated that have consoled us in our misfortunes. It is for us, fellow delegates, on our own behalf and on behalf of the people of India whom we represent, to convey our sincere homage to

His Majesty and our humble appreciation of His Royal benevolence."

This address of Pandit Motilal was quite moderate in tone on account of the improved circumstances narrated above. And the whole proceedings of the Amritsar Congress, in spite of some differences of opinion that were inevitable, reveal this spirit of moderation and compromise, and, as will be seen below, ultimately resulted in a decision to work the Reforms.

Decision of the Amritsar Congress :

To Work the Reforms.

The principal resolution was moved by Mr. C. R. Das in the Congress in the following terms:—

(a) "That this Congress re-iterates its declaration of last year, that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made."

(b) "That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding the constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing."

(c) "That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self determination."

Lokamanya Tilak supported this resolution. Mr. Das had a strong following at his back from Bengal and so also had Lokamanya from Bombay. But Mahatma Gandhi came forward with an amendment.

His amendment sought to delete the word 'disappointing' at the end of clause (b), and to add after clause (c) " Pending such introduction, this Congress begs loyally to respond to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation, namely, ' Let the new era begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose and trusts that both the authorities and the people will co-operate so to work the Reforms as to secure early establishment of full responsible Government. And this Congress offers its warmest thanks to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with the Reforms."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya supported Mahatmaji and after much discussion a compromise was arrived at and the following paragraph was added to Mr. Das's original resolution.

"This Congress stated that so far as may be possible they will work the Reforms so as to secure the establishment of full responsible Government, and this Congress offers its thanks to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with the Reforms."

There were also resolutions dealing with affairs in the Punjab, one on the Declaration of Rights and one on the Turkish question.

The Congress also appointed a Sub-Committee to enquire into the Punjab atrocities. The committee consisted of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. C. R. Das, Dr. M. A. Ansari, and some others.

No "Change of Heart"

The attitude of moderation and compromise that characterized the Amritsar Congress, under the Presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru, was not however destined to last. And curiously enough, it was Mahatma Gandhi who pleaded for working the Reforms at Amritsar and opposed Lokamanya Tilak and Mr. C. R. Das who were more stiff and uncompromising—it was he who developed under the stress of circumstances into the most rigid and unbending opponent of the Reforms. What were these circumstances? The Hunter Committee of enquiry into the Punjab disturbances published its report—but the trend of the Report failed to satisfy nationalist opinion in general, and Mr. Gandhi in particular. Side by side with the official report was published the Congress Enquiry report which threw a much more lurid light on the whole situation. Further, the way in which General Dyer was lionized by a section of the British press and people, for his "splendid brutality" at Amritsar, as they called it, culminating in the presentation of a public purse of Rs. 300,000 to him in appreciation of his services, and as a compensation of his censure by the Hunter Committee, convinced Mr. Gandhi that despite of the amnesty and the Reforms there had been no "change of heart" on the part of the British people. It was this lack of faith in the *bonafides* and honest intentions of the British that led Mahatma Gandhi, always responsive to moral appeal as he is, to preach the gospel of non-co-operation with the British Government which he called "Satanic."

Another factor contributed to strengthen the forces ranged against the Government. The Ali Brothers had been released under the general amnesty on the eve of the Amritsar Congress. They became the spear-head of the movement of protest that had already begun against the policy of the Allied Powers towards Turkey. The Ali Brothers gave the movement a distinctly religious colouring, described it as a movement for the restoration of the purity and prestige of the *Khalif* of Islam, and styled it the *Khilafat* movement. Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali led a whirled *Khilafat* campaign and joined forces with Mahatma Gandhi in his revolt against the British Government.

The programme of non-co-operation proposed by Mahatma Gandhi, helped by the Ali brothers, however, was not at once approved of, even by Extremist leaders like Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal, and Lala Lajpat Rai. What attitude Lokamanya Tilak would have taken up was never revealed for he died just on the eve of the launching of this programme. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to place his proposals before the All-India Congress Committee; and accordingly, on the 30th of May, 1920 at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee he explained the details of the scheme; but Pandit Matilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das stood against the proposal and it was decided to call a special session of the Congress in September.

Special Congress at Calcutta

The Special Congress met at Calcutta in September,

1920, under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai. The main issue before this Congress was the adoption of Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation programme, devised as the only effective protest against the triple wrongs viz. the unsatisfactory nature of the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, the Punjab atrocities, and the *Khilafat* wrongs. Mahatma Gandhi himself moved the resolution on Non-co-operation.

Pandit Matilal and Mr. Das strongly opposed this resolution and supported the amendment proposed by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. But the original motion was adopted by a great majority. The Congress resolved that there was no other course left open to the people of India than to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation, until the Punjab and *Khilafat* wrongs were righted and *Swarajya* established. The Congress accordingly advised :—

- (a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies.
- (b) Refusal to attend Government levees, durbars etc.
- (c) Gradual withdrawal of children from Schools and Colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and the establishment of national Schools and Colleges in their place.
- (d) Gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts for the settlement of private disputes.

- (e) Refusal on the part of military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia.
- (f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature from the Reformed councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate.
- (g) Boycott of foreign goods.

The Nagpur Congress

In December, 1920, the Congress met at Nagpur. Mr. Vijairaghavachariyar was in the Chair. Pandit Motilal and Mr. C. R. Das had gone there with a strong following to oppose the ratification of the Non-co-operation resolution of the Special Congress, but at Nagpur, they were completely won over to Mahatmaji's side. Instead of opposing, it was Mr. Das who moved the non-co-operation resolution which was adopted in the Congress.

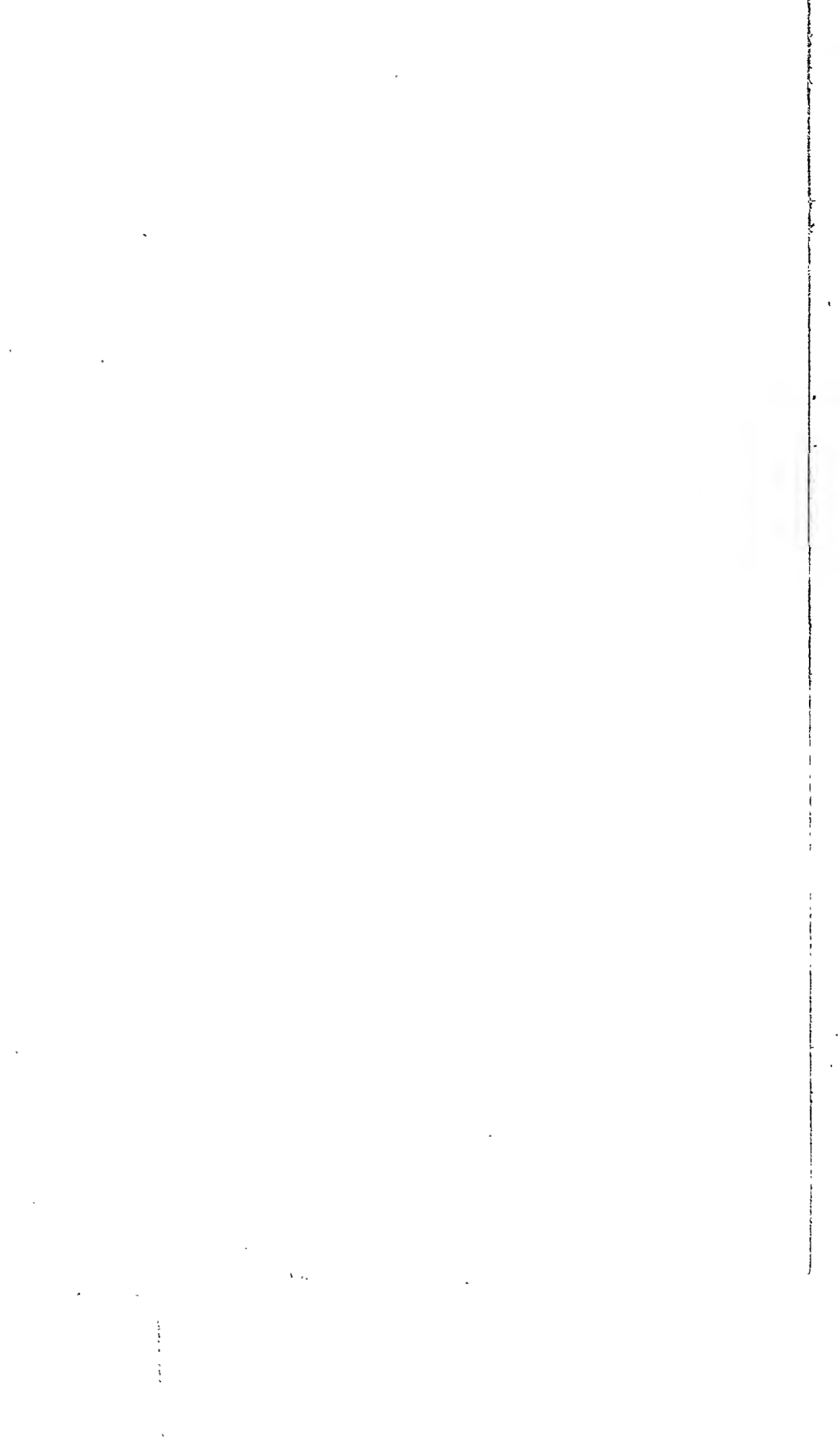
The Nagpur Congress also altered the Congress creed and drew up a new constitution. The creed as altered ran :—

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of the Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."

The alteration amounted to the substitution of the words "Legitimate and Peaceful" for "Constitutional."

The Struggle for Swaraj

Mahatma Gandhi's hands were immensely strengthened after Nagpur at obtaining the support of eminent men like Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das. These two leaders threw themselves heart and soul into the movement. In Bengal, Mr.



PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU



WHEN HE STARTED PRACTISING AT
THE HIGH COURT AND SET UP
AT 9, ELGIN ROAD.



AS A LEGISLATOR

Das retired from his roaring practice at the Bar, and dedicated himself wholly to the national movement, and earned from his admiring countrymen the appellation of Deshabandhu. On the United Provinces, Panditji took up the leadership of the movement. Soon after the Nagpur Congress he published an admirable little pamphlet "The struggle for Swaraj," which may be looked upon as a Non-co-operator's Gospel. His son, Pandit Jawaharlal, too, who had joined the Bar, renounced his practice and joined the movement. Indeed the general impression is that it was Pandit Jawaharlal who was mainly instrumental in converting his revered father zealously to Mahatmaji's programme. The other members of Pandit Nehru's family, men and women alike, also were not behind-hand in their zeal for the nation's cause.

The Pandit's Sacrifices

The sacrifices that Panditji made for the sake of Non-Co-operation are alone sufficient to place him high in the esteem of his countrymen, apart from any valuation of the actual services he rendered to the cause. Everybody had heard of the princely style in which he was living at his palatial mansion at Allahabad. Everybody who has been his guest at the "Anand Bhawan" would confirm this. He moved on terms of intimacy with the Lieutenant-Governor and with the members of the Provincial Government and he was their honoured friend and constant adviser. The richness and luxury of his life at Allahabad during those days attracted universal notice. We are told that he had his dress washed from Paris by every

mail and he was the leader of fashion in Allahabad. All these were gone when he joined the Non-Co-operation movement. No exodus to the hills during the summer now, no dress after the latest fashion in Paris. All his attire was pure homely "Khaddar."

Non-Co-operation movement.

The movement founded upon the noble sacrifice of Motilal and Chittaranjan did not take long to spread. The Legislatures were boycotted by Congressmen; Hundreds of lawyers gave up practice and students in thousands left schools and colleges and enrolled as volunteers. As a result of their propaganda more than fifty thousand Congress Committees were set up and one crore of men and women became members of the Congress. In the very beginning of the movement violence broke out in the U. P.; many persons were killed and wounded in clashes with the police and many were thrown into prison.

The next important event was the Akali Satyagraha in the Punjab, following on the massacre of 150 Akali Sikhs by the Mohunt at Nankana.

The Non-co-operation movement in the C. P. concentrated in the picketing of liquor shops. This led to a riot at Nagpur. The police opened fire on the mob. The Government also took preventive measures under Sec. 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. As a consequence the movement grew in strength. Hitherto the people concentrated on picketing, but now they got the chance of breaking Sec. 144. Sec. 144 was also served on several places in Bengal. When the Matriculation Examination was

going on, Deshbandhu was going from Dacca to Mymensing. The District Magistrate of Mymensing served him with a notice under Sec. 144, detained him in the station and at last withdrew the order. Serving Deshbandhu with a notice under Sec. 144 caused a wide spread agitation all over East Bengal and as a result half the students came out from the examination hall in Mymensing, Dacca and Barisal. Shortly before this in March there was further rioting in the U. P. and at Nagpur. A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was hastily called to consider the situation ; it met at Bezwada and passed the following resolution :—

- (a) One crore of rupees was to be collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund by the end of June.
- (b) One crore of members were to be enlisted by that date.
- (c) Twenty lacs of Charkhas were to be introduced into villages.

A second resolution pronounced that the various Government orders passed in different Provinces were illegal and affirmed that the country had responded in a wonderful manner in the face of grave provocation to the principle of non-violence. It also declared that the country was not yet ready for Civil disobedience and advised how to prepare for it.

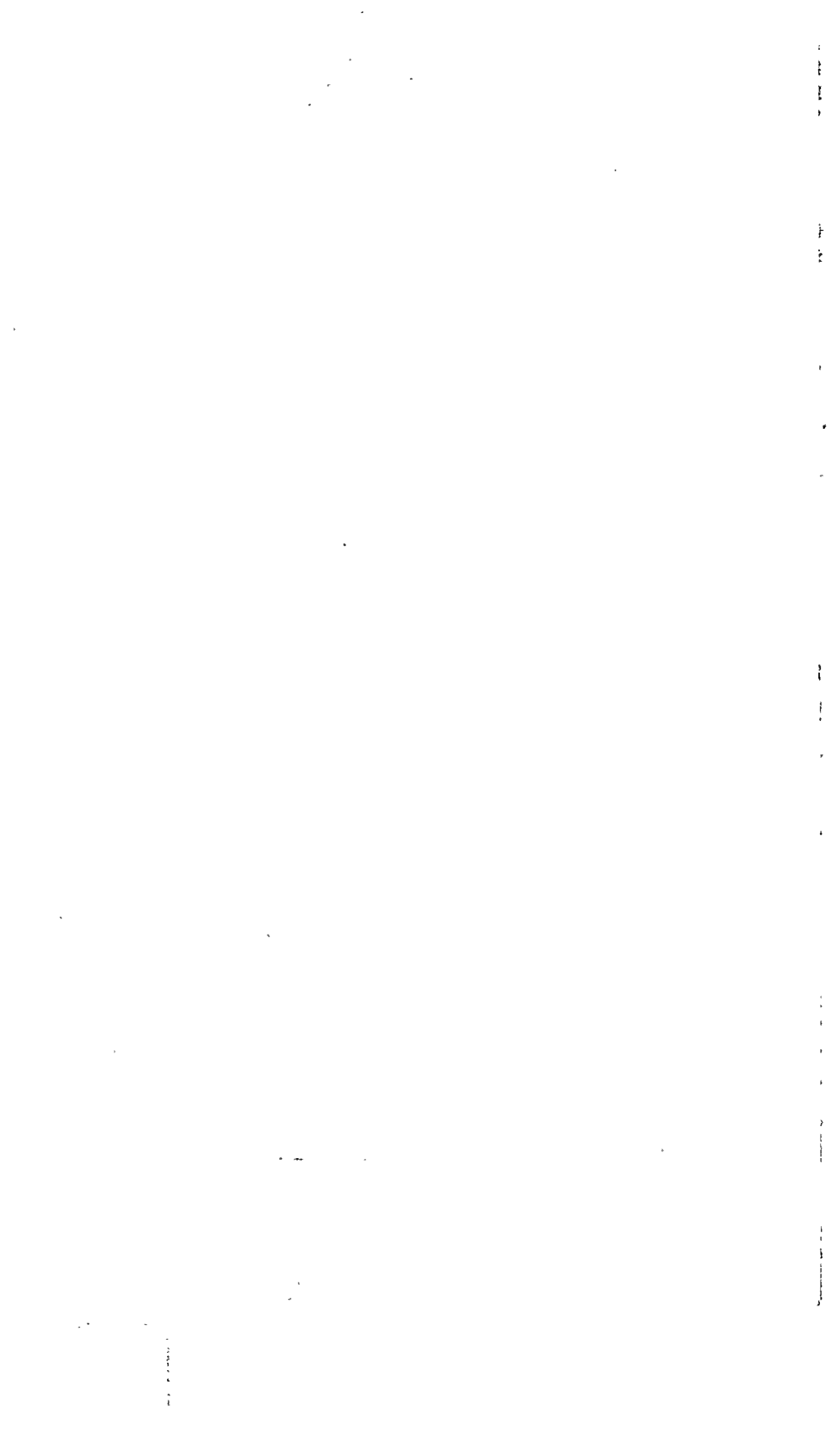
This period also saw extensive industrial strikes in Bengal, Behar and Assam. In Bengal there were strikes on the railways and in the steamer services ; in Behar there were strikes in coal mines and in Assam there were strikes in the tea estates. The

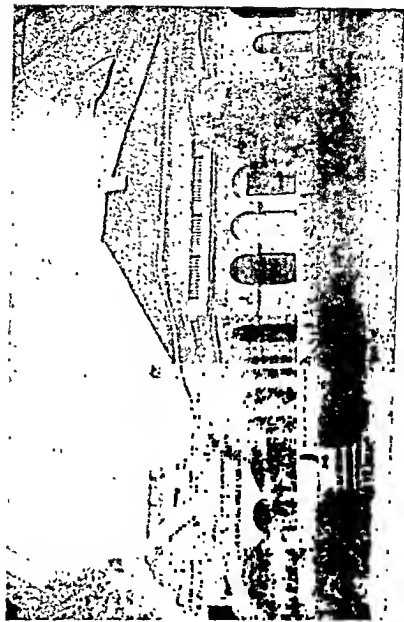
strikers' cry was everywhere "Gandhi Maharaj-ki-joy". Though Congress was not in any way responsible for these strikes they helped the Congress to gain men and money for itself. Mob violence broke out in many places during the year the most notable being the Moplah rising in Malabar.

Lord Reading came out as Viceroy in April 1921. At the instance of Pandit Malaviya, Mahatma Gaudhi went and saw him. But nothing resulted from the interview; on the contrary, Mahatmaji in a letter to the Viceroy declared himself to be the greatest enemy of the Empire.

Meanwhile the idea was gaining ground among the Indian Moslems that Britain was helping the Greeks against the Turks, and it gave a serious turn to the Khilafat agitation. A meeting of Moslem Divines issued a Fatwa urging the Moslems to resign from the Police and the Army. The Karachi Khilafat Conference passed a resolution to the same effect. The Government thought that the time had come to take action. The Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Yakub Hasssan and others were sent to prison for sedition.

On the 4th of November, 1921, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal and other leaders called the A. I. C. C. meeting and passed a resolution authorizing every province on its own responsibility to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The same month the Prince of Wales arrived in India. He landed in India on the 19th of November. On that day at the instance of the Congress an all-India Hartal was peacefully carried out everywhere





PANDITJI'S GIFT TO THE NATION: "ANAND BHAWAN."

except in Bombay where there was a serious riot in which 53 persons were killed and 403 wounded. Shocked at this mob violence Mahatmaji observed a fast for 5 days by way of penance. The Government then determined to adopt a repressive policy against the Congress; Congress Volunteer Organisations in Bengal, the U. P., Punjab and Assam were declared unlawful. Prominent leaders such as Pandit Motilal, Jawaharlal, Deshbandhu Das, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and others accepted the challenge by declaring themselves Congress volunteers.

His First Arrest and Imprisonment

Thanks to Panditji's efforts, in the United Provinces there was perfect non-violence during the Prince of Wales's visit to Lucknow and Allahabad. Whatever one may think of this particular programme of boycotting the Prince, the Pandit spared no pains to popularise the movement. He carried on an aggressive agitation. On the day of the Prince's arrival the streets were deserted and wore a mournful look.

On the 6th December, 1921, Pandit Motilal, with his only son Jawaharlal, and two nephews Mohanlal and Shyamlal Nehru together with several others, was arrested on a charge of signing the pledge of Congress volunteers.

The following is the account he gave of his arrest in his speech at Allahabad on June 12, 1922:

A few days before the Prince's visit, I received an extraordinary communication from the District Magistrate of Allahabad. It was accompanied with all the dignity and paraphernalia of

magisterial authority. We had been in the habit of corresponding with one another in the usual manner and our letters were sent through the usual messengers, but on this occasion an open letter was brought by a police sub-inspector in which I was called upon to make certain dispositions of my own grounds such as the closing of the gate at a particular time, the admission of visitors, etc. I told the Magistrate, in reply, that he had no authority to interfere with the use of my own property in any way I chose, so long as such use was lawful and proper, but assured him that as a Non-co-operator it was my duty to see that no harm befell His Royal Highness and that no disrespect was offered to him during his visit to Allahabad. For this assurance I was rewarded by being arrested with my son and nephews and a number of other co-workers a couple of days later. The Prince came in due course and you gave appropriate response by observing the greatest of all 'hartals' in India in connection with the visit.

The same day, Pandits Mohan Lal Nehru and Shyam Lal Nehru were sentenced by Mr. Knox, District Magistrate, each to six months' simple imprisonment and one hundred rupees fine, in default one month's simple imprisonment in addition. Pandit Motilal Nehru, when his turn came for examination, refused to answer any question. He refused to plead, saying that he was not before a court but before the agent of the bureaucracy which was his country's

enemy. And he, too, was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

Panditji took the sentence with a light heart. In fact, he felt as if the hallmark of recognition as a leader had been conferred upon him by the Government. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was also arrested on the same day and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

Though Jawaharlal was released before the expiry of his term of six months on March 3, 1922, he was again arrested under Sections 124A and 506 of the Indian Penal Code on May 11 in the District Jail of Lucknow where he had gone on a visit to his father Pandit Motilal.

Imprisonment could in no way affect the convictions of men determined to suffer for a cause. Soon after the arrest of Motilal a move was made by Government and the leaders to bring about a round-table conference with a view to effect some compromise. Motilal and Das were in prison and with them a great host of popular leaders. Lest Mahatma Gandhi, overcome by the sufferings of his devoted colleagues in jail, should give way, Pandit Motilal resolutely stood by the original demands. Indifferent to his own sufferings and those of his other colleagues he wrote to Mahatma Gandhi from the Lucknow Jail in unequivocal terms urging that their sufferings should in no way disturb the leaders' insistence on a just settlement.

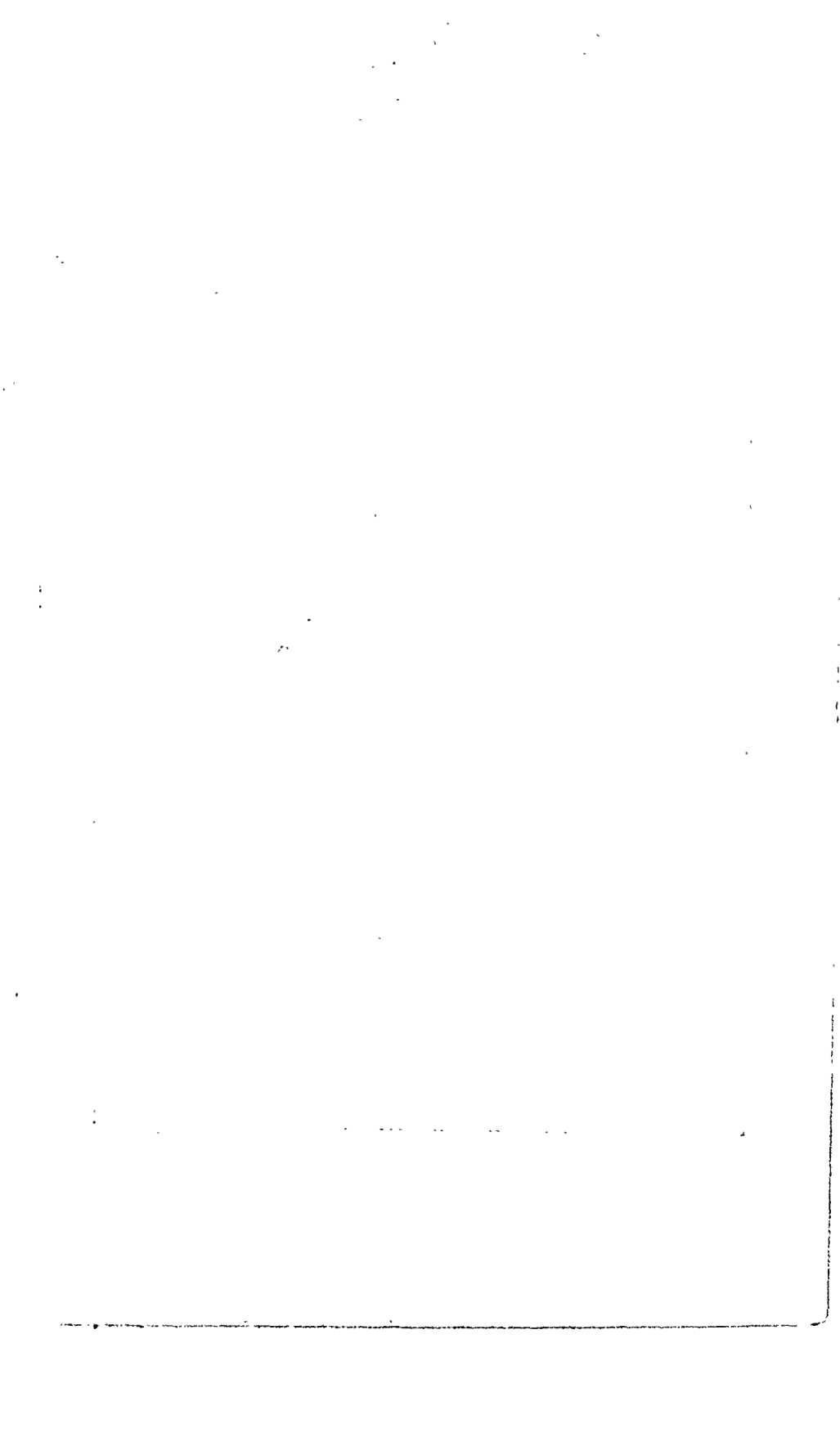
Significance of Leadership

The full significance of Pandit Nehru's leadership of the Non-Co-operation movement in his Pro-

vince was revealed only by his arrest. Nobody could be found who could fill his place adequately. Rumours of his release from prison before the expiry of his period were therefore welcomed by the anxious public. Moreover, his health caused some anxiety. He had been for a long time suffering from asthma and after the middle of February he got worse. At his request the jail authorities permitted him to place himself under the treatment of his fellow prisoner, Dr. Murarilal and Dr. Jawaharlal. But before the course of vaccine treatment that he was undergoing was over, Panditji was transferred from Lucknow to Naini Jail, the official reason being "considerations of health." The Pandit felt the reason to be only a cloak for some official whim; probably the authorities did not like his son (who had just been arrested) to remain in the same jail with him. And his spirited letter of protest to the Superintendent of the Jail seems to have received no consideration at official hands.

Release and subsequent activity

But Pandit Motilal was not to be daunted by physical or family suffering from the vigorous pursuit of his cause. Anticipating his release, a place on the All-India Congress Committee was reserved for him. Immediately on his release from Naini Jail on the 6th June he assumed the Secretaryship of the Congress and the office was transferred from Ahmedabad to Allahabad in consequence of his taking up the work. The Working Committee welcomed him and readily submitted to his leadership. He was elected to





FUNERAL PROCESSION AT LUCKNOW.

preside over the District Political Conference at Khurja. Pending the Conference Panditji was not idle. Since his release he had been on a lecturing tour. His gaol life had not in the least affected his optimism and he was now surer than ever that in this struggle for Swaraj victory was at hand for the people.

The Khaddar Programme

He insisted on the constructive side of the Non-Co-operation programme viz., the universalizing of 'Khaddar.'

In fact long before the Khaddar movement had begun he was a firm advocate of Swadeshi and the development of home industries, of which weaving and spinning were one. Again and again he emphasised the necessity of moneyed men coming forward and utilising the raw materials of Indian production and the services of Indian labour.

The end of Civil Disobedience

Let us now return to continue the history of the non-violent Non-co-operation movement. When the government declared the Volunteers' Organisations illegal and imprisoned prominent leaders like Das and Nehru the Congress gained two powerful leaders; they were Mr. Srinivas Iyenger and Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya. Mr. Iyenger once Advocate-General was at that time a moderate leader. He resigned his seat in the Council and joined the Congress as a protest against Government repression. Pandit Malaviya had seceded from the Congress ever since that body had adopted Non-co-operation. But at this time of calamity he came back and signed the Congress creed.

Towards the close of December the Congress met at Ahmedabad. Deshbandhu Das had been elected President from every province of India; but he had been arrested and Hakim Ajmal Khan from Delhi took his place. In this Congress at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi (1) the Non-co-operation resolutions of the Calcutta and Nagpur Congress were confirmed; (2) appeal was made to all persons over 18 years of age to offer themselves quietly for arrest by joining the National volunteer organisations; (3) Civil Disobedience, individual and mass, was recommended. Another resolution invested Mahatmaji with full executive power. It was at this Congress that Hasrat Mohani moved for the first time the Independence resolution. But Mahatmaji spoke against it and it was lost.

On the 26th of January, 1922, Mahatma Gandhi left his Sabarmati Asram and set out for Bardoli to start Civil Disobedience there. On the eve of his departure he addressed a few words to his followers at Sabarmati which would ever remain famous in history. He said, "I may return in a week or in a month—or I may not return at all. But this is certain that the work which has once commenced will not end till victory is achieved." On the 30th of January, in a conference of the people of the *Taluka*, Mahatmaji and Mr. V. J. Patel explained to the assembled cultivators the nature of the campaign and the possible consequences. About this time a no-tax campaign was going to be launched at Guntur in the Madras Presidency. The Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. met at Surat, congratulated Bardoli and advised the

rest of India to assist Bardoli by refraining from Civil Disobedience elsewhere. On the 4th of February Mahatmaji sent his ultimatum to the Viceroy. Then came the dreadful tragedy at Chauri Chaura in which several policeman were burnt to death in an orgy of mob violence, which compelled Mahatmaji to cry halt. He wrote thus in *Young India*:—

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me for the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify Mass Disobedience,

"The tragedy at Chauri Chaura is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precaution be not taken. If we are not to evolve violence out of non-violence it is quite clear that we must hastily retrace our steps and re-establish an atmosphere of peace, re-arrange our programme and not think of starting Mass Civil Disobedience until we are sure of peace being retained in spite of Mass Civil Disobedience and in spite of Government repression."

Mahatma Gandhi desired that the Congress should concentrate on spinning, making propaganda in connection with Khaddar, communal unity and social service, and suspend all other activities. But the A. I. C. C. which met at Delhi passed, much against the Mahatma's own view and mainly under pressure from the leaders of Bengal, Punjab and Maharastra, resolutions to the effect that a suitable atmosphere of non-violence should be created by concentrating on the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee. Picketing was authorised against liquor and

foreign cloth. Individual Civil Disobedience was permitted.

The Non-co-operation camp was now seriously divided. Aligarh students passed a resolution condemning abandonment of Civil Disobedience; the Akalis of the Punjab threatened Civil Disobedience against the decision of the Congress; owing to the absence of leaders like Pandit Motilal signs of violence were visible among the peasants of the U. P. The Bhils were about to resort to violence.

Arrest and Imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi

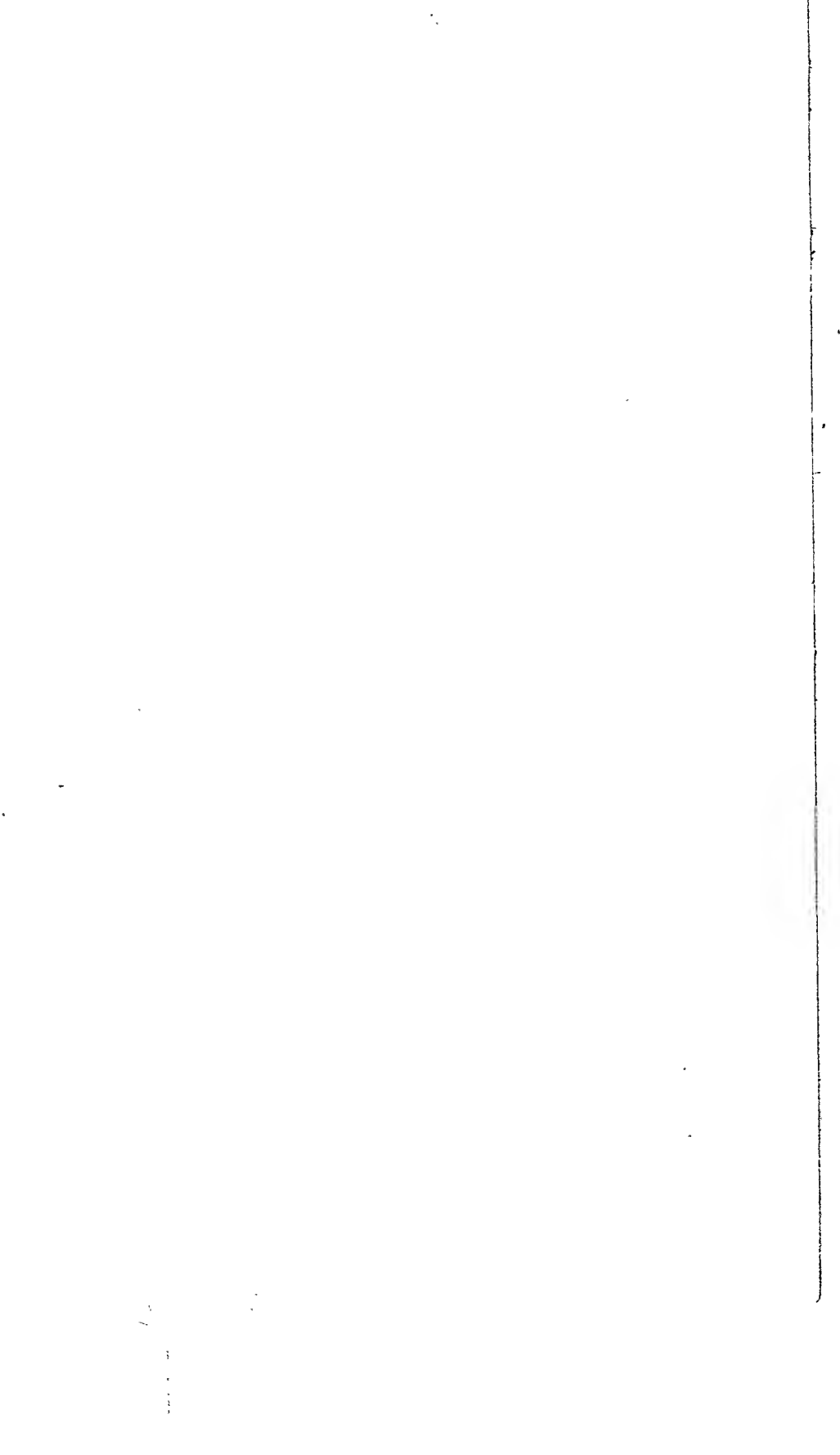
The European public had long been clamouring for arrest of the Mahatma. Anglo-Indian papers were urging immediate arrest. Government seeing Mahatma's influence on the wane determined to arrest him. He was accordingly taken on the 10th of March on a charge of sedition for publishing three articles in the *Young India* and was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment. On the eve of his arrest the Mahatma wrote:—

"It would be a sad commentary upon my preaching and upon the Congress and *Khilafat* creed of non-violence, if my incarceration was to be the signal for a storm all over the country."

In three or four months after the arrest of the Mahatma the country quieted down. With a lull in the excitement the vigour of the constructive work lulled down and simultaneously with it for want of workers the pulse of the Congress Committees grew feebler and feebler.

Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.

On the 6th of June, 1922, as already stated Pandit





A CROWD OF JOURNERS WAITING AT THE GATE OF
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD.

Motilal came out of the Naini Jail. As previously arranged, the A. I. C. C. met at Lucknow on the 7th. Panditji joined the meeting. Already Mr. Kelkar of Maharashtra had sent a strong representation to the Congress Secretary, Mr. V. J. Patel to the effect that Maharashtra wanted to capture the Councils and Local Bodies. But the President Hakim Ajmal Khan and the Secretary Patel had informed them that for the present they wanted to postpone the proposal. Mortified at this the Maharashtra representatives did not join the meeting of the A. I. C. C.

At this meeting a resolution was passed to the effect that a committee should be formed to enquire and report on the constructive programme of the Congress generally and on Mass Civil Disobedience. Pandit Motilal was appointed President. Under the guidance of Panditji the committee travelled through different parts of the country, prepared the report and presented it to the Congress President, Deshabandhu Das on the 30th of October. The purport of the Report was as follows :—

- (1) The committee did not think that the country was prepared for general Mass Civil Disobedience. But a situation might rise when Mass Civil Disobedience of a limited character might be necessary. And in that case the Provincial Committees should be authorised to sanction such movements on their own responsibility.
- (2) The Committee recommended the capture of Councils with the idea of carrying on a policy of obstruction.

It should be mentioned in this connection that

Deshabandhu Das got out of prison before the Committee submitted its report and it was due to his influence that Council-entry was recommended.

The policy of entering the Assembly and Councils with the object of obstructing the Government did not commend itself to the ignorant masses. They had a great regard for the Non-co-operation policy of the Mahatma and they blamed it as anti-Gandhi. Most of the people were for the old policy and against the new one. They got the name of 'No-changers'. Those who supported Council-entry were called 'Pro-changers.' Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Rajgopalacharya, Mr. T. Prakasam, Pandit Shyam Sundar Chakravarty and others were the leaders of the 'No-changers', while the 'Pro-changers' were led by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Deshabandhu Das, V. J. Patel, N. C. Kelkar and M. R. Jayakar. Pandit Jawaharlal, the worthy son of Motilal, went however against his father and remained a no-changer.

The two parties joined issue first in A. I. C. C. meeting at Calcutta in November. In this meeting the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee regarding Civil Disobedience were accepted, but, on the point of Council-entry there was a long and heated debate for five days and at last it was resolved that the question be left for the Congress itself to decide.

The Gaya Congress and after.

In December the 37th session of the Congress was held at Gaya with Deshabandhu Das in the chair. It was settled that Pandit Motilal Nehru, one of the

leader of the party advocating Council-entry, would move Council-entry in the Congress. But after a long debate the resolution was thrown out by the Subjects Committee. The resolution in an amended form was moved in the Congress and here also the 'No-changers' being in majority it was defeated. But Motilal, C. R. Das, Kelkar and other leaders nothing daunted by this defeat forthwith formed a new party called 'Congress Khilafat Swarajya Sangha' which in later days came to be called 'Swaraj Party.' From the very beginning Deshabandhu Das was its President and Pandit Motilal its Secretary. Hakim Ajmal Khan and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad belonged to this party from the very day of its birth. As it opened a new path for Hindu-Moslem unity many of the Mahomedan leaders came to join this party.

In this connection it would not be out of place to say a word or two about the Mahomedans. They joined the Non-co-operation movement not so much for the national cause as for the cause of the *Khilafat*. As soon as the *Khilafat* question was patched up they withdrew from politics. This was proved by the fact that Ali Brothers after coming out of the jail did not join the Congress. Of the prominent Mahomedan leaders only Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and Moulana Azad still adhered to the Congress.

A notable event of this period was the Nagpur Satyagraha. The Magistrate of Nagpur forbade processions with national flags through the city. The Congress authorities determined to disobey this order. Every day a band or two of Congress volunteers went in procession in order to be arrested and thus gradually

1500 volunteers were arrested. As the number of the processionists went on increasing the C. P. Government grew tired at last and in August released them all. It should be mentioned in this connection that it was the 'No-changers' who conducted the Satyagraha. Even Mr. Kelkar, the Swarajist leader of the C. P., stood away from this movement. Pandit Motilal and Deshabandhu being busy in building up the new party had naturally no time to look after this movement.

On the 30th of April, 1923, in a special meeting held at Allahabad there was an attempt to bring about a compromise between the two parties. But in spite of all efforts on the part of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others, the meeting broke up before any conclusion was arrived at. Next the A. I. C. C. met at Bombay in May and passed a compromise resolution that no propaganda be carried on amongst the voters in furtherance of the Gaya resolution relating to Council boycott.

Deshabandhu Das gave up the Presidentship of the A. I. C. C. and devoted himself to the organisation of the new party. At the instance of Pandit Motilal and Deshabandhu Das there were meetings of the A.-I. C. C. at Nagpur and Vizagapatam. As the day of the elections was drawing close it was necessary to have the consent of the Congress on the question of Council-entry. At Vizagapatam it was decided to call a special session of the Congress at Delhi. Soon after this decision Lala Lajpat Rai, Moulana Muhammad Ali and Dr. Kitchlew were released. They saw that if the Congress voted against Council-entry it would lose such popular leaders as Nehru, Das and

Hakim Sahib. This led them to advocate Council-entry in the special Congress.

Special Congress at Delhi.

The Special Congress met at Delhi with Moulana Azad in the chair. The resolution that lifted the ban on Council-entry was moved by Maulana Muhammad Ali who claimed to have received a telepathic message from the Mahatma supporting council-entry. The resolution being carried, Pandit Motilal, Deshabandhu Das and Maharashtra leaders plunged headlong into the election campaign.

After the Session of the Congress, Deshabandhu Das and Pandit Motilal carried out an intensive Swaraj campaign in North India. In October a manifesto was issued and elaborate preparation was made for fighting the elections. In November and December they contested the elections successfully all over India pushing to the walls the old Moderate leaders everywhere.

Considering the short time within which elections took place, the Swarajists won considerable success at the polls. Pandit Motilal Nehru became the leader of opposition in the Assembly—a position which he held till he resigned from the Assembly in pursuance of the mandate of the Lahore Congress. The Swarajists under the leadership of Pandit Motilal inflicted defeat after defeat on the Government in the Assembly.

During the year Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail and at Juhu where he had gone to recoup his health, he accepted the compromise with Pandit Motilal, Deshabandhu Das, and other Swarajist leaders

and desired that the country should give a free hand to the Swarajists. The Belgaum Congress under the presidency of Mahatmaji ratified the agreement.

Panditji who earlier was associated with the starting of the *Independent*, a daily at Allahabad which had a short but brilliant career, joined the Board of Directors of *Forward*, a paper brought out in Calcutta by Deshabandhu Das which within a short time of its appearance came to occupy a leading place in the field of journalism.

Death of Deshabandhu Das

In June 1925 Deshabandhu Das suddenly passed away at the zenith of his career. His sudden death at a most critical time was a heavy blow to the nation's hopes and aspirations and the whole country mourned his loss. The dead body was brought from Darjeeling to Calcutta in a special train and the huge procession that followed it from Sealdah Station to the Keoratala Burning ghat will ever be a memorable event in the history of India.

The names of Deshabandhu and Motilal appear side by side in the history of India's struggle for independence. There are many points of similarity in their lives. Both were leaders of the Bar in their own provinces; both entered politics rather late in life; both had received a rude shock from the Punjab wrongs and both gave up practice without caring in the least for their princely income at the Bar; both had similar political views and grew up to be great friends.

Motilal sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Das

and immediately joined her at Calcutta and stayed at her residence till the day of the *Sradh*.

After the death of Deshabandhu, Pandit Motilal succeeded him as the leader of the great Swaraj party that they had formed.

National Demand

In September 1925, Panditji put forward in the Assembly the famous national demand. In the opinion of many it was a modest enough demand, but the Government made it clear that they were not going to accept it. A special Committee appointed by the Congress at Cawnpore interpreted the Viceroy's inaugural address and the statements of the Home Member in the Assembly and the Council of State to imply refusal to concede the national demand. The A. I. C. C. therefore in March 1926, called upon the Swarajist members to withdraw from the various legislatures.

Swarajist Walk-out

On 8th March 1926 Pandit Motilal Nehru made a statement in the Assembly in which he claimed that the Swarajists had co-operated with the Government of India and had helped to work the reforms for two and half years and in return had received nothing but humiliation. After the statement Panditji with the whole of the Swaraj Party walked out of the Legislative Assembly. This action was followed in the Council of State and in the U. P. and Bengal Councils. The Responsivists who had entered the Councils under the Swaraj ticket but had already unfurled the flag of rebellion against the Congress under their

leader, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, strongly objected to the move and thenceforth left the Swaraj Party altogether.

Communal Squabbles

During the time the very foundations of nationalism were being shaken by serious and organised communal riots, principally in Bengal. Feelings ran high and even leaders who had played a great part in the nationalist movement forgot in their communal zeal that they had ever worked together for the common weal. The communal organisations gained importance. The right of playing music before mosques acquired precedence over even the most elementary rights of a subject in a civilised State. Only a few names stood prominently out of the filth of communalism that was sullyng this unfortunate country and they should be written in letters of gold in the nation's memory. Of these names that of Pandit Motilal Nehru stands out most prominently: he never for a moment forgot, and was never afraid to declare, that the interests of India stood first and everything else afterwards.

Simon Commission

On 8th November 1927, the Viceroy made the announcement of the appointment of Statutory Commission to inquire into the Reforms under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon. There were no Indians on the Commission and the Committees of the Indian legislatures that were introduced as an after-thought were merely consulting bodies. The decision to exclude Indians from the

Commission united the whole of India in a moment to boycott the Simon Commission, even Moderate leaders joining hands. Pandit Motilal Nehru on behalf of the Congress wrote to Mr. George Lansbury asking the Labour Party to withdraw their members from the Commission, saying that nothing short of full responsible government would satisfy the Congress. But Mr. MacDonald, the Labour Leader, decided not to withdraw the Labour members if equal powers were given to the Indian Committee. A vast majority of leaders of various schools of political thought were brought on a common platform by the boycott movement against the Simon Commission. The A. I. C. C. called on the Working Committee to frame a constitution in consultation with the leaders of other political sections. The Committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru drew up a constitution for India, complete in all details, and submitted what is known as the "Nehru Report."

Calcutta Congress

In view of the momentous crisis facing the country, Pandit Motilal Nehru was again called upon to preside over the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta, in December 1928. The Calcutta Congress considered the Nehru Report and decided to accept Dominion Status as formulated by the report if granted immediately; otherwise the country was to revert to the ideal of Complete Independence as adopted by the Madras Congress a year before. One year's time was given, within which time Dominion Status was to be granted.

Viceroy's Declaration

In November 1929, the Viceroy made a declaration announcing the holding of a Round Table Conference with the representatives of the Princes and peoples of India; stating that the goal of India was 'Dominion Status' and declaring that there would be as much transference of power to the people as was practicable. On the eve of the Lahore Congress Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru had an interview with the Viceroy in which they took up the position that Congress could join in the Round Table Conference only on condition that Dominion Status should be the declared objective of the Conference, which would meet only to consider the details as to how to grant it. The Viceroy failed to accept those terms and the conference broke down.

Lahore Congress

The Lahore Congress, under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru decided that no satisfactory gesture had been made by the British Government to meet the Indian demands and hence it scrapped the Nehru Report; and with it went down Dominion Status, and Congress adopted the goal of "Independence."

Civil Disobedience

Following the resolutions of the Lahore Congress, Pandit Motilal, with his group in the Legislative Assembly, withdrew from the legislatures and devoted his energy whole-heartedly to the campaign of civil disobedience launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

Gift of Ananda Bhawan

During the progress of the movement, Pandit Motilal made the largest contribution that has ever been made to the Indian National Congress. He dedicated his palatial residence at Allahabad known as the Anand Bhawan to the cause of the nation. The house was made over to the Congress by a deed of gift for the purpose of holding the office of the Working Committee of the Congress.

Last Imprisonment

On the arrest and imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, in May 1930, Pandit Motilal Nehru was nominated by Pandit Jawaharlal to succeed him as President of the Congress until he was released. He had accepted the offer and was carrying on his onerous duty with unprecedented zeal even in his advanced old age. But he was soon arrested and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and sent to the Naini Central Jail where Pandit Jawaharlal was kept.

Sapru-Jayakar Negotiations

During this time Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, anxious to bring about a settlement of the problems that were still agitating the people of India, wrote a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy asking permission to carry on negotiations with Mahatma Gandhi, who was then interned at the Yerwada Jail with a view to explore possibilities of settlement. Consultation with Pandit Motilal having been considered essential by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit

Motilal along with Pandit Jawaharlal was brought from Naini Jail to the Yerwada Jail, where the *pourparlers* were held. The *pourparlers*, however, ultimately led to no settlement.

Last Illness and Death .

Pandit Motilal had been suffering from various complications due to the rigours of jail life and partly to the strain he had undergone on account of the heavy burden of the Congress; and on account of his ill-health he was released from jail. Immediately after release he went over to Mussoorie for a change and better treatment. At Mussoorie he made a slight improvement. But this was only for a short time, and his condition again becoming worse he returned to Allahabad. At Allahabad he was constantly ailing from complications of the lungs and liver and spitting blood and on expert medical advice he was brought to Calcutta for X-ray examination towards the middle of November.

In Calcutta he was placed under efficient physicians like Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Dr. A. C. Ukil and others but no permanent improvement could be made.

He was subsequently placed under the treatment of Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati and was removed to Dakshineshwar in view of the pure air of the Ganges.

About this time, Sreemati Kamala Nehru, wife of Pandit Jawaharlal, was arrested. Deeply concerned at the news, Pandit Motilal hastened home.

At Allahabad his condition became gradually worse; one day, his condition was critical for twenty-four hours. Immediately after this on the 4th February



PARTIAL VIEW OF THE FACE OF THE SUBJECT

ary, 1931, he was, under medical advice, taken to Lucknow for X-ray examination.

Panditji bore the journey from Allahabad to Lucknow well. But the doctors noticed a change for the worse in his condition on the afternoon of the 5th February. He could not, therefore, be removed to the hospital for X-Ray examination. There was some difficulty in breathing; later the patient had a suffocating sensation, and the swelling in the face and other parts of the body, which had been reported a few days earlier, increased visibly.

Doctors and nurses kept a close watch during the night. Towards midnight the patient's condition became grave, and thereafter it was one continuous struggle between life and death. The doctors did everything that was possible within the range of human ingenuity and medical skill, but they soon recognised that it was an uneven struggle, and that the patient was sinking rapidly. All leaders and relatives were summoned to this bedside, but unfortunately the distinguished sufferer could not express his feelings, being unable to speak. After a little while he lost consciousness and by 4 o'clock in the morning it was apparent to the doctors and others, that there was no hope. At about 6-30 a. m. on the 6th February, 1931, the valiant fighter for India's freedom breathed his last in the presence of all his dear and near ones.

CHAPTER II

AFTER DEATH:

LAST SCENES, FUNERAL RITES AND CEREMONIES,
AND FEELING IN THE COUNTRY.

A Stunning Blow

The news of his death spread quickly, and thousands of people rushed towards Kalakankar House to have a last look at their departed leader. There was such a rush of visitors that the body had to be brought out of the room and shown to the assembled crowd to make it disperse in order to accommodate a fresh one. All traffic beyond Gumti Bridge was blocked throughout the morning.

Scenes unprecedented in its annals were witnessed in the morning at Lucknow when the last remains of Pandit Motilal Nehru were being taken to Allahabad. Since early morning the sad news had spread to all parts of the city and its suburbs like wild-fire and the entire population, visibly afflicted by the stunning blow, rushed out of their hearths and homes for the common destination, viz. the Kalakankar Palace. Long before the necessary arrangements for removal of the earthly remains of the departed leader were complete, the entire area around the Palace was converted into a vast sea of human heads, all eager to catch a last glimpse of the beloved patriarch of the Nation.

The rush was tremendous, but every member of the

huge crowd seemed to respect the solemnity of the occasion, with the result that noise and disorder were reduced to a minimum. By 11 o'clock, at the signal that Panditji's body would be brought out and a start would be made for Allahabad, the huge concourse at once went mad as it were and kept continually shouting '*jais*' to the illustrious deceased. Indeed, the deep pathos that marked the behaviour of the crowd was something unique and beggars description.

Mahatmaji as Pall-Bearer

Just at 11 a. m. Panditji's mortal remains, covered with tri-coloured Khaddar, was taken out, shouldered by Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru amidst pin-drop silence, the vast crowd almost to a man bursting out into sobs and tears for the great leader. The body was placed in a car specially decorated with National flags and flowers.

A little later Srijukta Swaruprani Devi was seen conducted to another car by Mahatamaji and Miraben. The most noticeable feature throughout was the calm serenity which was transparent in Pandit Jawarharlal's face.

Departure for Allahabad

The remains of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, placed on a motor car covered with huge national flags and with a flag flying on it, reached the Curzon Bridge, Allahabad, at about 4 o'clock in the evening. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. R. S. Pandit were seated in the car. Mahatma Gandhi and others followed. A large number of people had

assembled at the bridge end and offered flowers. There was a concourse of people, and a large number of cars with people from Lucknow and other places.

Last Scenes at Ananda Bhawan

By the time the car reached Ananda Bhawan the crowd had swelled to nearly a lakh of people, and it is reported several received slight injuries in the severe crush.

The grounds of Ananda Bhawan were then a sea of human heads, all leading residents of Allahabad, officials and non-officials being present.

The Funeral Procession

Never in the history of Allahabad has a funeral procession of such impressive and gigantic proportions been witnessed as followed the body of Pandit Motilal Nehru. As soon as the body arrived in a car, thousands of people, including some of the most respected citizens of Allahabad, Judges of the High Court, lawyers, politicians and others thronged Ananda Bhawan. A procession was formed, and the body was taken towards the *Prayag-Sangam*.

The procession passed Arthur Bridge and other big thoroughfares till it reached *Triteni* where the gathering swelled to over a lakh and a quarter. Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Babu Purshottam Das Tandon, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta and other leaders with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru accompanied the funeral procession.

Last Rites at the Prayag-Sangam

Almost 12 hours after his death, at 6-30 p. m., the



ANNIE'S CROWDS OUTSIDE AMAND BHAWAN MAKING ENQUIRIES
ABOUT PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU'S HEALTH.

AFTER DEATH

body of Pandit Motilal was placed on the funeral pyre made of maunds of sandal wood on the sacred bank of the three rivers in the presence of an immense concourse of his sorrowing countrymen.

After the funeral ceremony was over Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the audience. As the Mahatma rose to speak there was pin-drop silence. In moving and feeling terms he referred to the services of Pandit Motilal to the country.

Mahatmaji's Address

Mahatmaji said:—

To-night I see no signs of sorrow on your faces, instead I find joy writ large on your faces, and so should it be. One by one, many eminent leaders and great sons of the Motherland have passed away when the country needed them most. We should not weep for them. Do not think that we are to-night offering the bones of clay that enshrined that beautiful soul in fire. In fact you are all witnesses to the fact that the high soul has sacrificed itself for the country.

It is not the first sacrifice in freedom's cause. Late Lokmanya Tilak's sacrifice is still fresh in your memory. I attended the last rites of Lokmanya Tilak and witnessed the same scene that am witnessing to-night. Then at Bombay I saw cheerfulness on the faces of the people. At first I could not understand the reason.

When I overcame my personal attachment for the Lokmanya, I realised the reason. I felt that the people had understood the martyrdom of the Lokmanya better than myself. Hence they were cheerful. The Lokmanya's martyrdom had crowned his life. Similar was the case with the great Pandit Motilal. So had done Deshbandhu Das, Lajpat Rai, Hakim Ajmalkhan, Maulana Mohommad Ali who died for the cause of the country. His sacrifice was a matter of joy and pride.

I am glad you are cheerful to-night. But your cheerfulness is only proper if you have realized its importance. Otherwise the world will look upon you and say: "They are brutes. Such an eminent leader of theirs is dead and they are not in mourning." But I hope the world will not take it in that light. If you regard it as national *yajna* and feel it your duty to take part in it, then one and all, take the sacred vow on the holy Ganges bank to-night that you shall make all the necessary sacrifice required for the attainment of complete independence and for the good of the country. If you take this vow tonight we will achieve our object.

Panditji was a hero and a great fighter. He fought many battles of the country but he also gave a tough fight to Yamaraj, the God of Death. Panditji has, in fact, been successful in this fight too. Yesterday morning at Lucknow Panditji's condition and courage had assured

AFTER DEATH

every body that Panditji would successfully recover from the illness. Only yesterday told Pandit Motilal "If you gain health, then you will have *mswaraj*."

Pandit Motilal replied smilingly "*Swarajya* already been achieved. When sixty thousand men, women and children have made splendid sacrifices, when people have patiently borne *lathis* and bullets, what else but *Swarajya* can be the result?"

Panditji had a very high soul and perfect power of mind. I am sorry last night I could not talk to him, but Mrs. Nehru who was by my side told me that it was God's special favour that Panditji was heard reciting sacred *gayatri mantra* last night.

Panditji was not a blind follower of religion. Sometimes he used to make fun of religion because he was opposed to the fraud that had crept into religion. Sometimes Panditji felt annoyed at religious fraud but I knew well Panditji was a believer in God and last evening he was continuously reciting the lovely name *Rama*. He never uttered a sigh of grief or pain. It was a lesson to all those who wanted to become truly religious. Panditji has by his sacrifice purified himself. Myself and others should also be purified in the same *yajna*. Panditji had offered himself, his only son, his daughter-in-law, son-in-law and his all at the altar of the motherland.

It is your duty to take a sacred vow which

enable India to achieve success in her resolve. India has taken a vow which has today moved the whole world and has attracted world-wide attention. It is India's resolve to attain complete independence by non-violence and truth as the only weapon. The world is watching the great experiment anxiously. You must take a vow to make it a complete success. I pray to God to bless us with strength enough to achieve success in the mission.

Feeling in the Country

The whole country was plunged into the deepest mourning at the news of Pandit Motilal's passing away at this critical moment in the affairs of the nation.

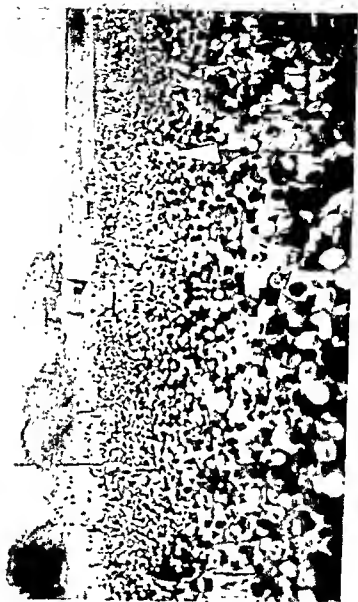
Thousands of messages of condolence were sent to the widow and son of Panditji, from the highest to the lowest in the land, on receipt of the sad news of his death; and resolutions of grief and condolence were adopted in great public gatherings and important public bodies all over the country. Business was suspended, and spontaneous *hartal* observed at most places.

We cull below only a few of these messages and resolutions of condolence.

Messages of Condolence

The Private Secretary to his Excellency the Viceroy sent the following telegram to Mrs. Motilal Nehru, Allahabad:—

The Viceroy and Lady Irwin greatly regret to



THE GATHERING AT THE SANGAM.

learn the sad news of your husband's death and send you and your family a message of most sincere sympathy in your sorrow.

Mr. Vallabhbai Patel, President-elect of the Indian National Congress, 1931, wired:—

Deeply grieved to receive the sad news. The whole country mourns Panditji's death. The nation can never forget his unequalled record of service and sacrifice in the cause of national freedom. His absence specially at the present juncture is an irreparable loss to India. Every Indian heart goes out to you in your great bereavement. Convey my most heartfelt condolences to the whole family.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Bengal Congress leader, wired:—

Nation joins weeping with you in mourning the loss of your father and nation's father.

Sir Hugh Cocke, leader of the European group in the Assembly, sent the following telegram to Mrs. Motilal Nehru:—

The European group in the Legislative Assembly send you their deepest sympathy in your bereavement and mourn the loss of a most respected former comrade in the Assembly.

Congress Working Committee

The Working Committee of the Congress meeting at Allahabad adopted the following resolution on February 13, 1931.

This meeting of the Working Committee places on record its deep sorrow at the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru whose counsel was a source of strength to all Congress workers; whose noble sacrifice was an inspiration to the ease loving and whose courage was a solvent for the weakness of the weak. This meeting conveys its respectful condolence to Srimati Swaruprani and other members of the family.

Legislative Assembly

On Monday, Feb. 9, 1931, Sir George Rainy, Leader of the House, moved a condolence resolution on Pandit Motilal Nehru's death, expressing sorrow and grief of the Government of India, and associating with it His Majesty's Secretary of State, he said:

We have met to-day under a shadow of grief that India has suffered by the removal of Pandit Motilal Nehru who, for the last ten years, held the foremost place in the public life of the country.

Of his policy and achievement, this is not the day to speak. So far as he is concerned the chapter is closed and the records are sealed up to await the judgment of the historians, but that he will fill a large space in the historians' pages none of us can doubt. However the value of his work may be assessed, no one will question his whole-hearted devotion to the interests of India as he conceived them or impute to him any motive other than an unsparing desire to serve his country.

There are many in this House who can speak of Pandit Motilal Nehru from a greater degree of intimacy than I could claim. He had a personality which impressed itself on the most unobservant.

Eminent as a lawyer, eminent as a speaker and in the first rank as a political leader, he could not but take the foremost place wherever he might be, whether within these walls or outside them. The quickness of his intellect, his skill in debate, his adroitness as a tactician and his strength of purpose rendered him a formidable adversary in controversy. These qualities were there for all to see, but he had other qualities which lent distinction to his character in private life as well as in politics, and it is these I myself often recall. An endearing courtesy, ready sense of humour, freedom from malice and bitterness and a wide and deep culture rendered him unrivalled as a host and the most charming of companions. We shall not again see in this House his well remembered figure, but we shall often recall that exquisite fitness of attire which aptly symbolised the clean fighter and the great gentleman and that impressive face, deeply lined and careworn, on which character and intellect were so deeply imprinted.

On behalf of the Government of India, Mr. President, I have tried to say something of what is in our minds and hearts, and I am authorised to say that His Majesty's Secretary of State for India desires to be associated with our expression of regret and sorrow. I believe it would be in accordance with the wishes of everyone in this House, Mr. President, that you convey to the family of the deceased our deep sympathy in their bereavement."

Sir Harisingh Gour, on behalf of the Nationalists, requested the House to adjourn as a mark of respect to the memory of the leader who had sacrificed his

life and liberty to the service of his Motherland. India was poorer by the death of Pandit Motilal who after a brilliant career as a lawyer, dedicated the rest of his life and fought the battle of India as a clean fighter.

Mr. Mahomed Yakub, on behalf of the Independents, regarded Pandit Motilal's death as a national calamity.

Sir Hugh Cocks, on behalf of the European group, felt it a privilege to be associated in the tribute to a great man and in the desire for the adjournment of the House out of respect to his memory.

The Raja of Kollengode, on behalf of the land-owners' group felt sure that Pandit Motilal's name would live in history as the maker of modern India. Their consolation lay in the fact that Motilal was able to witness the dawn of a new era of great promise.

Mr. T. R. Phookun, as a friend of Pandit Motilal, said that the latter was the hero of a thousand battles and that his spirit would inspire them to victory.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt said that he was one who sat at the feet of Pandit Motilal to learn political wisdom in the Assembly and, as such, he felt that, in the death of his late leader, one of the brightest stars had fallen from the firmament of Indian nationalism.

Mr. Ranga Iyer stated that, in the case of Pandit Motilal, it might be truly said that "the good that men do will live after them and the evil is oft cremated with their bones."

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, the President, associated himself with the observations of the previous speakers on this mournful occasion and said that it was most

unfortunate that Pandit Motilal should have been taken away at the present juncture in the history of the Motherland when his services would have been most invaluable. Agreeably to the wishes of the House, he promised to convey the message of condolence to the bereaved family.

Calcutta Corporation

The Calcutta Corporation adjourned its special meeting on Monday 9th Feby. as a mark of respect to the memory of Pandit Motilal Nehru after adopting a resolution of condolence.

The Shradh Ceremony and Motilal Day

In pursuance of the directions of Mahatma Gandhi, Sunday, the 15th February, 1931, the day fixed for the performance of the tenth day *shradh* ceremony of Pandit Motilal Nehru, was observed as 'Motilal Day' throughout the length and breadth of India.

Allahabad

At Allahabad there was a complete suspension of business particularly in Hindu quarters. The occasion co-incided with the Shiva Ratri festival, when the Hindus generally observe fast; many persons kept a fast on the day on account of the *shradh* ceremony.

The first *shradh* oblations were offered to the spirit of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru by his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Sunday morning at the Sangam and in the afternoon the public carried on the programme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi for the celebration of the Motilal Day.

At about 12-30 p. m. a procession was organised in front of the Khaddar Bhandar and it marched to the *bund* at the river bank where a public meeting was held just below the *bund*. Strict silence was observed by the processionists during their march and they proceeded to the *bund* in rows of two in a remarkably orderly fashion keeping to the left of the road.

An overwhelming majority of the processionists were clad in Khaddar. While the procession was on march many people were seen hurrying to the meeting place on vehicles or on foot, and by 3 p. m., the time fixed for the meeting, thousands of people assembled below the *bund* and took the pledge of *Purna Swaraj* in presence of Mahatma.

Bombay

'Motilal Day' was observed at Bombay in accordance with the programme chalked out by Gandhiji. As per instructions a large number of citizens observed fast, while some others who were religiously-minded commenced their fast by taking sea baths early in the morning. A *hartal* also was observed with the exception of a few Mahomedan and Khadi shops which remained open. Congress workers and volunteers hawked hand-spun Khadi during the morning.

The regular programme of the day commenced with a mammoth silent procession at 3 p. m. which started from Azad Maidan and after passing the important thoroughfares terminated at Choupatti sands. A monster meeting was held at Choupatti at 5 p. m. where Mr. Koladkar paid glowing tributes

to Pandit Motilal Nehru in the course of a brief speech and read the following pledge which was repeated by the audience:

We, assembled in this meeting for commemorating the great and noble sacrifices of the late revered Motilal Nehru, hereby solemnly resolve to dedicate ourselves more fully than hitherto to the cause of the country so as to hasten the advent of *Purna Swaraj*.

A similar procession and meeting were held simultaneously in the mill area.

Lahore

'Motilal Day' was observed at Lahore with a partial *hartal* and procession. A largely-attended public meeting was held outside the Moti Gate. Ladies predominated in the procession. The programme laid down by the Congress Working Committee was gone through.

Madras

The 'Motilal Day' celebrations commenced at Madras in the morning in the Gokhale Hall with a crowded meeting of students at which a dozen speakers paid tributes to Pandit Motilal Nehru's sacrifice. A big procession was taken out in the afternoon.

Calcutta

Complete *hartal* was observed in the city in a peaceful manner and in every quarter of the city the streets wore a deserted appearance. From midday

people of all ages and of all shades of opinion began to assemble in every Park both in Northern and Southern section of the city and in all the Parks Pandit Motilal's portrait was placed under a huge tri-coloured flag, and flowers and garlands were offered with the utmost solemnity.

From every centre people proceeded to join the main procession on its way to the Maidan where a mammoth meeting was held and pledge of Purma Swaraj adopted.

" I hate the word 'Indianisation' from the bottom of my heart. We are in India and there is no question about Indianisation. What India wants first is to get rid of Europeanisation of the Army."

Pandit Motilal Nehru



CHAPTER III

LEADERS' TRIBUTE

It is a tremendous loss that the country has ever sustained.

Mahatma Gandhi.

Pandit Motilal Nehru left us the Legacy of Unconquered Spirit in the Hour of India's Spiritual Triumph.

Let the great sorrow of India for the death of her noble son find a great fulfilment in her life.

Rabindranath Tagore

I am deeply grieved to hear that my life-long esteemed friend Pandit Motilal Nehru has passed away. It is a national calamity that he has been removed from our midst at a time when the country stood most in need of his courageous and able guidance.

He was an illustrious son of the motherland. He has earned the glory of having died fighting for the freedom of the country and bravely fighting even the prolonged cruel illness, which most oppressed him during the last few days of his life. The motherland has every reason to be proud of him. There will be deep sorrow felt over the whole length and breadth of the country such as has been felt seldom before. My

heart goes out in respectful sympathy to the respected old Mrs. Motilal Nehru, who was already too much broken down by continuous suffering of her husband and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the rest of the family in their great bereavement. I hope, however, their grief will be assuaged by the thought that the whole nation shares with them their deep sorrow.

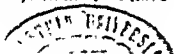
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

One of India's most loved and trusted leaders passed away from our earth this morning. We know that he has not really left us, his spirit remains with us to inspire his example and to stimulate and guide. He is not gone from us, though we lose sight of the body of the man we loved.

Dr. Annie Besant.

In the present distracted state of the public mind in India, it is hardly possible to correctly appraise the political work and worth of Pandit Motilal. I had known him for more than a quarter of a century and more intimately for twenty years. It need hardly be said that the school of nationalist politics which he represented was not my school and we differ very widely in recent political activities. But whether one agreed with him or differed from him, one could not fail to be impressed by two things in his life and character. First, Pandit Motilal was a perfect gentleman in every sense of the term and next, he was, without doubt, one of the ablest advocates we had. His political advocacy was as powerful as his legal advocacy. In him, we have lost a great force in our

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present public life. I see no one about us just now who can replace Pandit Motilal. Differences of opinion, there must be among thoughtful men and ultimately he does not really count. It is through the conflicts of opinions and ideals that a public life of a country always develops. In this development of the contemporary Indian politics, Pandit Motilal brought high intellectual gift, genuine patriotism which, though ardent, was never tainted by the least suspicion of racial hatred and a manner which always made his friends from among his political opponents.

Though he had been called away in the fulness of his age, we are very much poorer to-day for his death. I am glad to have this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to his honoured memory.

Bepin Chandra Pal.

Pandit Motilal was dying by inches. And the process is complete to-day. Congress politics have received the most fatal blow when its future is big with grim but immense possibilities.

Ten years ago when he entered virile nationalist politics he also accepted its implications as his subsequent conduct showed. That unuttered vow is now fulfilled. He is going to achieve by death what was begun by shedding his life-blood drop by drop at the fag end of his days.

Many are called but few are taken. The whole Nehru family have been called and taken. A family self-dedication as of King Dasarath has once more made instinct with fire the dry bones of the valley.

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Pandit Motilal was aware of his falling health for some considerable time. In February last, when I examined him, I warned him and Pandit Jawaharlal of the serious condition, but Pandit Motilal told me that he could not spare himself and was prepared to

All the magnificent gifts of Pandit Motilal Nehrus spirit and intellect were fused in the flame of his matchless patriotism into a victorious martyrdom for the sake of India's deliverance from bondage.

Justice Dwarkanath Mitter.

Pandit Motilal's brilliant achievements in the field of law, and his great sacrifices have stirred the imagination of the people of India and have spread his great name and fame far and wide. There may be many of us here who may not agree with his political views. Pandit Motilal was truly great for they are great who do service. I had the privilege of his personal acquaintance when in 1914 I was in the Council of State and he was in the Legislative Assembly. He was a man of the most engaging personality.

what deep-seated affectionate nature he had for the country he loved and for the people he called his own. They will remember the Beloved Hero for a long time and follow his lead from the region of the unknown hereafter until Swaraj is attained.

Dr. B. C. Roy.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

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MOTILAL NEHRU

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and now as he has left us struck by the cruel hand of death; but though his body be gone, every one of us Indians, feels that his imperishable spirit remains with his countrymen as an immortal inspiration, calling to them unceasingly and every moment to live for the Motherland, to serve and save her and die for her, too when the call comes for that last ritual of life.

B. C. Chatterjee

The nation had lost one of its grandest figures. His able guidance was never more wanted than now. It is a terrible stroke of ill luck for the people of India and it makes Gandhiji's burden much heavier.

C. Rajagopalachari.

In spite of his failing health and exhaustion Pandit Motilaji guided the affairs of the nation for the last nine months with wonderful courage and determination, which will be a source of inspiration to his co-workers in the struggle for freedom.

On Monday last I bade good-bye to Panditji at Allahabad. I was not quite hopeful of his recovery but I never thought that the calamity would come upon us so soon. Within the last ten years we lost Deshabandhu Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Lala Lajpat Rai, but the loss of Motilal Nehru is the heaviest blow to the present national struggle, because he is snatched away from us at a time when his presence is most needed.

In July last his health was completely shattered. Only his wonderful will-power kept him going. His

MOTILAL NEHRU

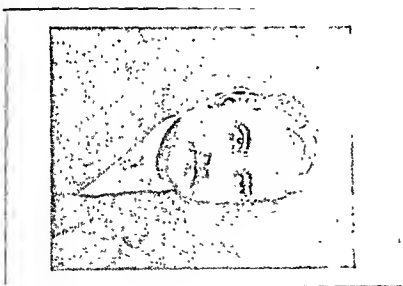


LAL NEHRU

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU



As AN N. L. C. (1915)



As AN M. L. C. (1913)

arrest and jail life at such a critical stage of his health proved fatal.

We have raised memorials for Lokamanya Tilak, Deshabandhu and Jaypat Rai and surely we will like to do something worthy of Pandit Motilal Nehru too. But I would like to remind my countrymen that the best way to perpetuate his memory will be to carry on the fight for freedom to the end to which he consecrated his life.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

Pandit Motilal's gifts for negotiation were great. India mourned the loss of one whose part in the framing of the new constitution would undoubtedly have been dynamic and significant.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

The loss was irreparable.

Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.

A passionate sense of grief and bewilderment—of deep and abiding loss—is my uppermost feeling as I think of the passing away of one great and beloved leader. It cannot be said of Pandit Motilal Nehru he has died in his prime, but undoubtedly he has died when India's need of him was sorest—need of his balanced judgment of his feroid patriotism, need, above all, of the unquenchable fire of his faith and conviction.

As I survey Pandit Motilal's career, there is one feature that strikes me as peculiarly significant: other people begin as extremists in their hot and rebellious

youth but sink down as moderates: Pandit Motilal began as a moderate and died as a champion of unqualified independence. I knew him as a moderate 1907 and again in 1917. But the Home Rule movement brought him out; the Punjab gave him his baptism of fire; Non-Co-operation lent the consecrating touch; and in 1930—at the flag-end of life, worn-out in body but perennially youthful in soul, we found him foremost in the marching ranks, foremost in the line of fire! And now he has fallen at last—the second of our great, fighting chiefs—fallen by the road-side ere the goal was reached or the march accomplished, but fallen with the banner of liberty radiantly uplifted in his hands!

Well may we say of him in this hour of national desolation—"un-arm, the long day's task is done."

J. L. Dancie

I had the honour of knowing Pandit Motilal intimately particularly as I was with him in the same house for the whole of the year 1920.

He had a charming personality, was an excellent raconteur, brilliant at conversation, quick in his replies, and never lacking in the saving grace of humour. I think I saw his political conversion, because when in 1920 at Dumraon, I remember that his views just before his son Pandit Jawaharlal arrived there, were very different from those he expressed after his son's departure. I have not forgotten how we used to remind him of this, at the dinner-table and in what excellent spirit he used to take our light banter. In spite of any views not being that of the Congress,

PAN

J. NEHRU

Panditji never allowed this fact to have any influence, in the matter of his pleasant personal relations with me. On one occasion he wrote me, that he respected me as an honest opponent, and that he had a horror or lukewarm friends.

On one occasion he was my guest at Calcutta house during my absence, and on my return I found that within a few days he had become friends with all the youngmen and boys in the house.

N. N. Sircar.

The cruel hand of Death has removed from our midst one of the greatest Indians of the century; and, at a time when the country had most need of him, Six years ago at a psychological moment the nation lost Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. At an equally psychological moment in the history of this nation, Deshbandhu's second in command is gone. Bengal, emotional Bengal, can never forget Pandit Motilal; for, it was here, standing on the soil of Bengal, that he joined his voice with Deshbandhu's and instilled into the minds of his countrymen faith in their own mission and in their own destiny. The whole world has been witnessing the incarnation of that faith in action ever since.

Great as he was as a lawyer, Panditji was greater as a man and as a leader of men. His great sacrifices for the cause of his country, his dynamic personality and his geniality and kindness in private life have left impressions on his countrymen which can never be effaced. May his soul rest in peace.

Sarat Chandra Bose.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was one of the greatest figures in the political life of India. Although constitutionalist at heart, he was driven into channels of extremism by the policy of British Government since 1924. There were many people who felt as he and his life showed that unless British policy avoided delay and impressed upon the people of India its sincerity, there would be no peace in India.

M. A. Jinnah.

I was stunned to hear that Pandit Motilal Nehru was no more.

Shivaprasad Gupta.

AL NEHRU

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru came this morning as a shock to every one who heard it. It is a great national calamity. In him the country lost one of its greatest fighters and one of its best statesmen. His resourcefulness was wonderful. At the present juncture his guidance would have been of immense value as he could bring to bear a highly practical mind on all questions without losing a grip of ideals. His spirit of self-sacrifice was far greater than what is given to ordinary man. In this struggle he delighted to pile sacrifice and knew no measure for the volume of his sacrifice. The cause of India he made his own; and he did not live for anything except the liberation of India. When a free India erects its pantheon Motilal will have a great place near the one occupied by the architect of Modern India, Mahatma Gandhi.

K. M. Munshi.

Although we are fearing the end for the last few days, the robust optimism of our departed leader, even in his bed of suffering filled us with hopes which are now dashed to the ground. The thought which is uppermost to-day in every mind is—who will fill the void? So large a space did Motilalji occupy in the public life of our country. With his expiring breath he declared that India shall be free. That was not merely a parting message; it was his last gift—the undying spirit of faith and confidence. If Panditji has not lived to see the fulfilment of his prophecy—indeed, the fruition of the great work in which his contribution was so vast—he joins that company of our immortal dead, Tilak and Das, as a guardian angel of India's freedom.

Death could have had no terrors for Motilal. This was quite apparent to those who anxiously watched him at his bedside. If he wished to live, it was in order that he might serve India a little longer and, perhaps, grasp that freedom for India which though circumstances, has been able for a long time to elude our grasp. So far as he was concerned he had lived a "full" life—a life that is an example and a lesson. It embodied a philosophy which crude sentimentalism or piety cannot assail; for it was based on a broad basis of humanity; it frankly affirmed.

Homo Sum

Humani nihil a me alienum.

Who but Motilal could have flsted on his death-bed to a breathless inquirer after his health, saying that judging by the faces of his doctors he must be seriously ill, but that he was determined to live to

see the birth of a free India? He was too proud not to scorn pity for his bodily sufferings. He fought the battles of life manfully: to death he would be no object suppliant for mercy. If there was an over-estimation of his bodily strength there certainly was no over-estimation of his mental powers, which retained their full vigour to the last. His mind never had a page. At seventy it was equal to the struggle and as for his over-estimation of his bodily strength it was a fault of which the braze must always be guilty. Our great sorrow is tempered by the thought that the memories of so heroic a life will constitute an invisible power which will always be available in the national struggle. Who knows—Motional dead may prove to be far more potent than Motilal alive. The living personality was magnetic; the inspiration he has given to his people is comparable to a cosmic force.

J. C. Goswami.

The magnitude of the loss which the country has sustained by the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru cannot yet be fully realised. The Nehru Report has, for all time to come killed the lie that our leaders could only destroy, but could not produce any constructive scheme of their own. If he had lived another six months, he could have helped India to take her rightful place amongst the free nations of the world. Though we have lost him in flesh, I am sure, his spirit will remain about and around us to help the country to the most critical period to her history.

Baradaprasanna Pain.

A great Napoleon of fight for Indian freedom has passed away. In the thick of the battle when soldiers of freedom needed most the guidance of their great general. It is an irony of fate that he had to leave the scenes of his labours at this critical juncture of our national struggle and I am sure that he will ever watch and guide us from heaven in our march for freedom as he did while on earth. Our hearts now too full to give adequate expression to what we feel and the best way of tendering our homage to the memory of our departed leader is to carry on the great war for which he sacrificed his all, nay his life even and keep the flag flying.

Amar Nath Dutt

In the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru a dynamic personality has passed away. Howsoever one might differ from his views in certain matters even his worst enemies could not help appreciating the great sacrifices made by him in the cause of the motherland. Having been brought up in the lap of luxury his simple and self-denying life during the last ten years exhorted everybody's admiration. He was not only a great lawyer but proved himself the leader of an indimitable determination. The Punjab owes a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Motilal for the services rendered during the martial law days.

Gokul Chand Narang.

The passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru at this critical juncture has plunged the nation into grief.

I am so much over-whelmed with sorrow that I cannot speak more than repeat the few words which he spoke to me when I was with him at Allahabad about a fortnight ago—words which are still ringing in my ears. On my remonstrating for his taking part in prolonged discussions at the first meeting of the Congress Working Committee he uttered the following significant words. "If I am ever prevented from service for my country, I would prefer death to such miserable existence." Karnajogin that he was, he died working for his country till the last moment of his life. It will be my everlasting regret that the opportunity of resuming his treatment after a few days as arranged by Panditji himself did not arise and I could not serve him till the last moment of his life.

Kaviraj Syamadas Bachaspati.

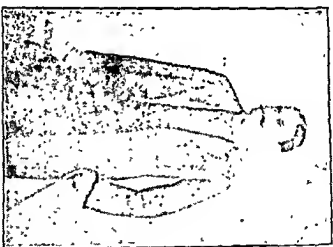
As for the duty of the Government to govern I fully agree. But there is the duty of the governed, that is, to secure just government for themselves on principles fully recognised all over the world and to spare no sacrifice, no suffering, however great, to achieve that end.

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU



A VALIANT FIGHTER FOR INDIA'S
LIBERTY.



AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS PRO-
FESSORIAL GLORY, WHEN HE USED
TO SEND HIS SHIRTS TO PARIS
TO BE LAUNDERED.

Pandit Motilal Nehru is no more. He lived the life of a hero and has earned the death of a martyr. Pandit Motilal had achieved all that human ambition could desire—power, wealth, fame and the love and esteem of millions of his countrymen. He had done all that a true soldier of the motherland could do to free his nation from subjection and bondage. His only joy in life was the service of the motherland. He was not afraid of sufferings or death. So far as Pandit Motilal is concerned, he has earned his laurels and has made peace with his Maker. But his death at this critical juncture in the nation's history is a calamity, the true extent of which cannot at present be gauged or expressed. He has left a big gap in the public life of the country which is

(Delhi)
The Hindusthan Times

The methods that Pandit Motilal Nehru and his fellow leaders adopted brought him definitely into collision with the British Government and the Government of India, but if Pandit Motilal had to be counted as an enemy, he was an enemy who has always not only respect but the warm admiration of those who fought him. It is tragic that he could not live to see the peaceful realisation of his hopes which he believed to be possible in the very near future.

(London)
The Daily Herald

[Among the numerous appreciations that appeared in the Press on the occasion of the death of Pandit Motilal, we cull below a few.]

PRESS APPRECIATIONS

CHAPTER IV

would be impossible to fill Lokamanya Tilak, Chittaranjan Das and Lala Lajpat Rai are some of those who have predeceased him and with whose work his own can bear comparison. Each of them left the country poorer for his loss. India has not found a second Tilak, a second Deshbandhu Das or a second Lajpat Rai. India is not likely to find a second Motilal Nehru. When the history of India's struggle for freedom comes to be written, the name of the Nehru family and of Pandit Motilal Nehru, will find a place, second only to the name of the Gandhi family and Mahatma Gandhi, in respect both of the sacrifices made in the service of the motherland and the contributions made for the uplift of the nation. Pandit Motilal possessed the courage of a lion, the daring of a soldier, the will for suffering of a martyr, the intelligence of a statesman, and the heart of a Prince. He was one of the most successful lawyers of India and commanded a practice which some of the world's greatest lawyers might envy. When Mahatma Gandhi launched his non-co-operation movement, Pandit Motilal, true to the principles he adopted as his own and which he began to preach, spurned his practice at the bar, made a bonfire of all the foreign clothes belonging to himself and to his family, and threw himself headlong into the national struggle. Both he and his illustrious son Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru constituted two of the strongest pillars of the non-co-operation movement. When the movement showed signs of weakness, Pandit Motilal Nehru like a far-seeing statesman, immediately organized the great Swaraj Party in collaboration with the late Deshbandhu Das, to fight the government from within the legislatures. For six years Pandit Motilal remained the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly and the courage and statesmanship he displayed in guiding his party, won the admiration even of his adversaries. As a debater he had few equals. His logic was incisive. As a Parliamentarian and tactician, his skill and ability kept the treasury benches ever in fear of him.

But the Assembly had no charms for him. He only wanted to use it as a means for carrying on the national fight, and for focussing world public opinion on the national demand. As soon as he found that little was to be gained by such efforts, he spurned his seat in the Assembly and unfurled with Mahatma Gandhi and his own son, Pandit Jawaharlal, the banner of Independence at Lahore. Ever since the 31st of December 1929, the day of the declaration of independence, the only rest Pandit Motilal has known is the one to which eternity has now consigned him. Weak in health and ailing from numerous complaints, night and day he worked for furthering the cause of civil disobedience, knowing full well the serious risks to which he was exposing himself. In June he was imprisoned. The unbearable summer heat and the rigours of jail life told on his already failing health, and his condition became so critical that the government felt it prudent to release him. But the great Motilal was not to recover from this final blow to his health. He is dead. A million people mourn his loss. He is a martyr, richer for his sacrifice. But the nation is poorer in his death. He gave all that he had to his nation, he gave away his practice, his home and finally himself to the motherland. But the greatest and most precious gift of all he has given to India, is his illustrious son Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. To-day every man and woman of India will sympathise with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on whose shoulders the burden of the responsibilities of his father has fallen. The nation's sympathies will go also to Mahatma Gandhi who has lost at this critical juncture one of his most dependable and illustrious colleagues. Above all, the nation will itself have to bear a grief which could not have been more profound, if a country's uncrowned king had died, Pandit Motilal was the uncrowned king of a million hearts. He was the idol of his people. He was one of the most popular and powerful men of his age. It is unfortunate that he did not live to see the object of his lifelong sufferings achieved. But by his sacrifices, he has

The united prayers of a whole country have gone
 am. The mysterious dispensation of an inscrutable
 providence has removed from the field of his labours
 of the greatest Indians of our time and generation
 exactly the time when his country stood most in
 need of his wise guidance and courageous and far-
 sighted leadership. Fate has in this matter been con-
 dently unkind to this unfortunate country. To make
 d on the very eve of the Special Congress which
 s to decide the issue of non-co-operation versus the
 re corruptive methods of the older nationalism.
 shahuddin Das was taken away at exactly the
 a new orientation of Congress policy. Lajpat Rai
 s removed when his country was in the very thick
 the fight for Swaraj and only a short time before
 e entered on that incisive campaign for the attain-
 ment of her birth-right of unqualified freedom in
 which his services were most needed. Pandit Motilal
 shru was in a sense both more and less fortunate
 in any of his illustrious co-workers. Alone among
 men he can be said to have died in sight of the
 untried land. What the others could only have

(Lahore)

The Tribune

ortralized himself and his illustrious name will go
 in history among the foremost nation-builders
 dia. He will not be available to the country in
 ling the important problems now waiting for
 ion. But he has shown that by suffering and
 ace alone, a country can achieve its freedom and
 right. If the present writer is rightly informed,
 ing the last meeting of the Working Committee,
 xpressed in words which will go down in history,
 epoch-making, his attitude towards the Round
 le Conference. "I am always prepared for an hon-
 ble peace" he is reported to have said; "but till
 e is one drop of Nehru blood in any living child,
 e will not be and cannot be any surrender.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

foreseen with the eye of faith, he alone was destined to see with his physical eyes. The emancipation of the country for which all four had striven so heroically, so energetically and so single-mindedly, he alone lived to see all but an accomplished fact. And yet here also was the tragedy of his death. For one who had given his all and staked his all on the attainment of his country's freedom what a terrible wrench it was to be snatched away, when the prize for which he had laboured all his life was within sight? The wrench was all the greater in this case because the prize, in order to be worthy of those who had worked so hard for it, had to be made more handsome and more substantial, and because he knew that there was no one in the country who could contribute more to this all-important operation than he.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that the place which Pandit Motilal Nehru occupied in the Congress and in the public life of the country cannot be filled by any other living man. For long years he had been a sort of golden bridge between the old and the new, first between the nationalism of Tilak and the nationalism of Gandhi, then between the non-co-operation of Gandhi and the socialism of his own son. He was the first among India's older leaders to rally round the banner unturled by the Mahatma. He was also the first to break away from it when he found that it had landed the country in what he justly described as a stalemate. He was, again, the first to return to the Gandhi fold when it was made more comprehensive, and when the movement which he had so valiantly led in the Assembly, as in the Congress, had like the older Gandhi movement led to a *coul-de-sac*. Lastly, he was the first to realise the value of a constructive contribution to the solution of India's constitutional question, and the Nehru report, of which he was the principal author, will forever remain a monument of his political genius and sagacity. He was perhaps the one man among the great Congress leaders who enjoyed the respectful confidence not only of all Congressmen but of all politically-

minded Indians, and even of the Government. Inferior as he, like all other purely political leaders, was to the Mahatma in saintliness, in personal magnetism and in moral and spiritual force, he was superior to him as a statesman. Among the great Congress leaders of to-day he was perhaps the one man to whom no one, whether in other political parties in the country or among officials, would have denied the title of a statesman of the very first rank. In reality there was a consensus of opinion among all who were in touch with the actual realities of India's politics that if India became free and self-governing during his life-time the choice of the Governor-General for his first Prime Minister would inevitably fall upon him. One great secret of Pandit Motilal's universal popularity was the fact that he was absolutely free from sectarian passion. The party that he led in the Assembly so brilliantly and so successfully was an absolutely non-communal party, and the Muslim members of the party were as devoted to him as the Hindu members. Indeed, we are not aware of any other living Indian leader, whether in the Congress or the country, always excepting the Mahatma, who had so large a political following among members of all communities as Pandit Motilal. To be deprived of such a son is, indeed, an irreparable loss to the Motherland.

But while the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru is mourned by the whole country as a great national calamity, we in the Punjab can claim a greater and more intimate share in this sorrow than any other part of India, not even excepting the part which he adopted as his home. Ever since he first came to this Province as one of its saviours in the fateful days of Martial Law, Pandit Motilal Nehru had been literally the idol of the Punjab. The services which he, along with his life-long friend and comrade, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, rendered to this Province in those days when the Punjab's own leaders were either in prison or away, have never been and can never be forgotten; and his place in the heart of the people

If this Province was next to that of no other man. That he fully reciprocated the love which the Punjab bore him is a matter of common knowledge, and it is the literal truth to say that she never appealed to him in her hour of need in vain. On behalf of the whole of the Punjab we offer our sincere and respectful condolence to the bereaved family, and especially to the devoted lady who for many years had shared all his joys and all his sorrows and to the illustrious son whom the Pandit has left behind him to carry on his work and who is already among India's first men.

The Civil and Military Gazette

(Lahore)

Over ten years ago, on April 9, 1920, Mr. Gandhi launched his non-co-operation campaign which had for its object the nullifying of the political advance granted to India under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and this was to be achieved by the boycott of the new legislatures. The history of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi's agitation is the political life history of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Not a little surprise was felt when the Pandit, who had been a brilliant and very successful lawyer, gave up his practice in the Allahabad High Court, and whose private life had been on the luxurious western model and who at no time could have been considered an agitator, went over to the intrasigant. It has to be admitted that this surprise was somewhat mitigated when it was recalled that Mr. Gandhi's agitation and the 1919 Reforms closely followed the *satyagraha* movement and that the Pandit was eloquent in his condemnation of the Amritsar incident. His later utterances brought him within the purview of the law and he was imprisoned.

Though we have little sympathy with politics of the Pandit, it is of significance to note that his death removes that restraint which he exercised over the irresponsibility of Mr. Gandhi and the practically Communist ardour of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

When the Congress, the mouthpiece of Mr. Gandhi, then as now, decided on the boycott of the legislatures, and constituted its Civil Disobedience Committee, which in fact had to consider the question of council entry, it was Pandit Motilal, the late Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mr. V. J. Patel who differed from the views of the other members of the Committee. The birth of the Swaraj Party resulted from this divergence of opinions, and Mr. C. R. Das became its leader with Pandit Motilal as his chief lieutenant in the Legislative Assembly. The Congress was made to subordinate its policy to that of the new party and at its special meeting in Delhi in 1923 gave full approval. Mr. Das's policy was to enter the councils in order to wreck them and so far as the Assembly was concerned he found in Pandit Motilal an ardent and devoted follower, who himself came into full control on the death of his chief. This wrecking policy was fully carried out by the Pandit, who lost no opportunity in making every attempt and employing every advantage to embarrass the Government and to make the Reformers a farce. That he did not fully succeed in his designs was no fault of his or the party which he led. And thus the tale proceeds until we come to the fresh agitation against the Simon Commission and the Congress asked that all who sought elections to the legislatures on its ticket must resign.

The part which he played at the Lahore Congress is more recent history, and it was but recently that in consideration of the parlous state of his health the Government exercised clemency and released the Pandit from jail, he having been imprisoned for abetting the commission of offences under the various Ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy. That Pandit Motilal was the most reasonable of the Congress leaders, not excluding Mr. Gandhi himself, is borne out by reading between the lines of the statement made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in connection with the peace talks that he had been approached by a Congress leader, both in Allahabad and Bombay, to try and effect a rapprochement between the Congress

and the Government, which makes it clear that had chosen for himself the path of the agitator and wrecker, his death at this momentous juncture is regrettable, for, as we have already stated, if anyone could have brought both Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal to a saner mood and could have persuaded them to abandon all fantastic demands as preliminaries to negotiation and co-operation, that man was Pandit Motilal Nehru.

The People

(Lahore)

Death has dealt India the cruellest blow he could deal to-day. For though in the struggle for India's liberation in the period following upon the war—in Indian terms in the period beginning with the Jallianwalla Massacre—Pandit Motilal was ever in the forefront, and great as his contribution as a front-rank leader during all these years was, India never needed him so badly as it does at this moment. He was *the* man for this moment; and the present was *the* juncture when a man with his peculiar gifts was needed more than anybody else to affix an indelible impress on India's history. As news of his illness having taken a critical turn came during the past several days the present writer often remarked in private talk that though the 'amnesty' was engrossing the attention of the people more than anything else, if the gods granted him a boon of his choice, he would ask for Pandit Motilal's recovery rather than for the release of the fifty thousand in jails.

Never since his entry into active politics after the Punjab Martial law day was he second to any man—excepting the almost superhuman Gandhi—in India's political movement. Before then he was known more as the top lawyer of Allahabad than as a politician. But the galvanizing days of the Rowlatt agitation won him entirely for the movement. He served the Punjab badly bruised by Martial law and laid this

province under an obligation to him which cannot be cancelled. The Punjab indeed must feel the loss even more than other provinces. He served on the committee of inquiry into the Punjab wrong and presided over the Amritsar Congress. At Calcutta when the Congress adopted Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme, he went the whole hog, even whilst Lajpat Rai and Chittaranjan Das wavered. But though he was almost the only one of the outstanding older leaders to accept Gandhi's programme, he did not do so as one converted to a dogma. Nature had given him the suppleness needed in politics and throughout in his political career he was guided by practical judgment and not by creeds dogmas. He would guide a nation's destiny, if he was this instrument in sound condition can venture forth on all uncharted seas. Without this all the charts prepared according to this school or that are of little avail.

It was this freedom from rigid dogmas that enabled Pandit Motilal to give up the orthodox brand of non-co-operation which he found it was leading to stagnation and to found, with C. R. Das, the Swaraj party of which he remained the Assembly leader from the very beginning. He made his mark in the Assembly as few Indians have done. But when again he found the moment had come for a more aggressive programme he bade good-bye to the Assembly to throw himself into the whirlwind campaign of mass civil disobedience. The Sacrifices made by himself and his entire family for this movement from one of the brightest chapters of the annals of India's struggle. In fact he came out of the jail doomed to early death and never recovered the health he had lost during his imprisonment.

Motilal knew when to turn to civil disobedience, when to Assembly work, when to drafting a constitution, as a general knows when to order a frontal attack, when a flank one, when to bide his time and when to storm the enemy's citadel.

At the bar, in the Assembly, in the Congress—everywhere he was a giant. Leave aside Gandhi, and

there is no doubt he stood head and shoulder above any other leader in India's politics. As a mere politician indeed he was superior in his sense of realities his astute judgment and his grasp of the strategic position, to Gandhi. Nature had cut him out for politics, and for leadership in politics, and it made him particularly strong in the very things in which Gandhi's greatness makes him weak. At a moment like the present when the movement initiated by Gandhi has brought about a situation in which India can turn to practical advantage the sacrifices so far made by her, and when one false step may make an immense amount of sacrifice go waste, no one will be missed so much as Motilal Nehru. His lofty patriotism, his rare sacrifice, his almost unique practical judgment and a force of intellect in affairs that entitled him to a place in the category of geniuses, and not least his temperamental gifts that sometimes cost him valuable friendships but at others crushed the enemy with cold contempt and made of him a leader that exacts obedience as a matter of right—all these made of Pandit Motilal a figure whose death leaves behind a gap impossible to fill. A whole nation mourns this loss and shares the sorrow with Mrs. Motilal and Pandit Jawaharlal and the rest of the bereaved family.

The Statesman

(Calcutta)

By the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru Indian political life becomes distinctly poorer. Of late years he had insisted on being labelled an Extremist and during Mr. Gandhi's agitation ten years ago and again more recently he even forced the Government to put him in prison. Never was there a more unwelcome task. It is of frequent occurrence in India for a fiery young rebel against Government to end either by serving his country in a responsible position or by abandoning politics altogether and wrapping himself in a mantle of contemplation to devote the

remainder of his days to the search for God. Such men as the late Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Mr. Aurobindo Ghose illustrate tendencies which had clearly begun to show themselves in Mr. C. R. Das during the last year of his life. Pandit Motilal Nehru was the inconvenient exception. He on the contrary began public life as a Moderate and he was in every way fitted to interpret the best modern mind of India to Englishmen in India and also to interpret to his countrymen the best aspect of British political idealism for India. He was in truth a very modern man with a keen enquiring intellect, a sceptical philosophy and a man of the world's appreciation of the age in which he lived. Race and breeding showed in every line of a handsome face that in later days became with the beauty of age like an old ivory carving. Above all he had personal charm, easy manners and a warm heart. In consequence he had hosts of English friends and almost certainly in the whole of his life he never made an English enemy. The feelings of his friends when this attractive man suddenly acquired a new political creed and insisted on putting himself on the wrong side of the law can easily be imagined. A fond Edwardian father whose delightful daughter suddenly became a suffragette and broke his windows yet realized Sir Harcourt Butler, the Governor of the United Provinces, laughing told the Pandit over the dinner table that if he ever went to prison he, Sir Harcourt, would see that he did not go without champagne. Much to his surprise the Governor later found himself compelled to arrest his friend, but he did not forget his word and champagne from the Governor's cellar graced the Pandit's prison meals.

There is an explanation to this conversion of a fellow Moderate already past middle life into an Extremist. It lies in Mr. Gandhi and his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Fresh from Harrow and

Cambridge and full of youthful idealism, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was carried away by Mr. Gandhi's influence at the time of the first non-co-operation campaign. Mr. Gandhi's philosophic, economic and ascetic ideas were entirely opposed to Pandit Motilal's and hitherto he had looked upon them with nothing but disfavour. But his father's heart was full of pride and joy in his son and he could resist him in nothing. For a time the son converted him to Gandhism. The Pandit abandoned his wealthy practice at the Bar; he laid aside his smart English clothes and his glistening Irish linen, and put on khaddar, but, be it said, he wore his well-cut khaddar Jodhpores with an air and could not be induced to appear in a dhoti, a garment which made no appeal to him. For a time, too, he may even have supposed himself a permanent convert to all Mr. Gandhi's ideas. But the dominating influence was his son and not Mr. Gandhi. The son retained his personal admiration for the ascetic of Sabarnati, but his belief in the efficacy of some of his ideas waned and new influences began to capture his still youthful enthusiasm. The elder Pandit was able to join Mr. C. R. Das in a break away and he entered the Legislative Assembly where he soon became both an outstanding figure and a universal favourite. He sat on the Sandhurst Committee and he joined the British Empire Parliamentary Union, and three years ago he accepted the Assembly's choice that he should lead a delegation to the Congress of Empire Parliaments in Canada, a journey which however he was unable to perform. Side by side with these developments went his son's drift to Communism, and for his son's sake he even visited Moscow. Finally, a new combination between Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal arose. Their ideas remained divergent in important particulars, but for purposes of anti-governmental action Mr. Gandhi's influence with the masses and the younger Nehru's power in the youth movement were harnessed together. Once again the father followed the son. For his

sake he rejected the Viceroy's offer of that very Round Table Conference which in the Assembly he had been so vigorously demanding, and in the closing passages of his life he seemed prepared to reject even the Nehru Report. He did not follow the familiar Indian evolution which leads to Conservatism in age, because he had given his heart to youth. It was a generous heart, and there can be none who does not regret that it is stilled.

"An Indian Contributor" in the "Statesman"

"The number of sincere and ardent workers in the field of the Congress politics is large, but the whole world knows the Nehrus, father and son, and Motilal Gandhi were the guiding spirits. Of the trio Motilal was the brain, Mahatma's idealism and Jawaharlal's the dash. The brain power has vanished just at the moment when its presence was essential necessary. Who is there to supply the gap? And what will the fate of the country be if there is none to fill it? The misfortune of India has always been that her worthiest son is taken away at the crucial moment Mr. C. R. Das, who took courage in both hands and chalked out a new path for the uplift of the country, was snatched away before he could give full effect to his ideas. The death of Mahatma Mahatma is another instance in point and now comes the blow of the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The whole country has been hoping that the sobering influence of Pandit would effectively put a check to the idealism of the Saint of Sabarnati and the restlessness of his son but that influence can no longer be exercised. "Unfortunate India."

The Amrita Bazar Patrika

(Calcutta)

"The body was unwilling to release the soul and the soul was unwilling to leave the body. Never was

there a nobler soul, never a braver body. They have parted at last, as they had to. "I shall not die till India has achieved freedom." These words on the death-bed, more eloquent than any words could be, expressed the spirit of the man, who, a fighter all his life, had been fighting against death with that courage, perseverance and cheerfulness that marked his renowned leadership. Pt. Motilal is no more! The words will reverberate through the length and breadth of India and in lands beyond the seas. The mind will call forth the vision of the man and his snow-capped head, leading and counselling his countrymen in their struggle for Swaraj. His ripeness, wisdom, his clear vision, his fearlessness, will no longer be at the service of the nation. His wonderful personality, strong as rock yet amiable, which attracted to him friends and foes, will be missed at this crisis of the nation's history. He was a general and a statesman both. He was the General Botha of war and had he lived a little longer he would have been the General Smuts of peace. Our countrymen resorted to him as children do to their father. He comforted them, shared with them their sorrows, encouraged them, lived to the end of his life like a Prince with all the joys that life can bestow. Who could be a prouder or happier man than the father who had a Jawaharlal for his son? He had wealth earned by the talents. He had everything for himself to make him happy and comfortable. He had, when he came to the fight, attained an age when men, even in better climes, retire with honour and without blame. All the blessings of life he had. But he threw them all away. For whom and for what? For the country and the cause he had made his own. As he came and more in the struggle, and got more and more hits, his spirit rose more and more, till the climax was reached when he sacrificed not only himself but one and all that was near and dear to him. The sacrifice of the Nehru family passed into

proverb. Man lives and man dies families thrive and families decay, but the sacrifice of the Nehru family with the venerable patriarch at the head will ever blazen forth in the immortal pages of history.

Father and patriarch, you are gone. And our tears will never go dry. You have given us your all. But what have we given you? The presidentship of the Indian National Congress was too small a prize for you. We had cherished the hope that in the fullness of time, not very distant, on your brows will rest the laurels of the glorious fight for freedom which you have done so much to win. At this moment when we required, above anything else, your ripe wisdom and your skillful lead you have left us!

But we do not complain. A fighter all his life he has died the death of a warrior. The crown he has left for the young, the scars he has taken for himself. His death at this moment calls to the mind that of another, younger in years and whom the venerable Pandit had accepted as his leader—as an object-lesson in discipline. Desbandhu's end came with the virtual death of Dyarchy in Bengal. That institution never recovered from the blow, or series of blows that it had received from his hands, even its friends damned it and hastened its end. The first phase of the struggle ended and Desbandhu's life was also ended. That was a turning point in the political history of the nation. A second phase of the struggle began with the leadership of the great leader whose death the nation mourns to-day and of Mahatma Gandhi. A breach has been effected in the very cludel of the bureaucracy, the Central Government. They say that the struggle is practically at an end; the goal is not only within sight but within reach. We do not know. But we know this that another and a great turning point has been reached and our second great General lays down his life.

To-day he goes to the life beyond amid the lamentations of a nation, but his spirit will live in the spirit of the nation and let us hope that the day is not far

Himself he made the greatest sacrifice of which a man is capable. Pandit Motilal Nehru laid down his life for his country. Used to a life of luxury, he went through the hard discipline of the prison. Out of it he denied himself the comforts and amenities which had grown into a second nature with him. The call to lead the Congress movement in person came to him in the month of May when he was in Agra con-

not prepared. and followers any sacrifice for which he himself was last ditch and would not demand of his colleagues trifled with; who would fight the enemy up to the that here was a man who could be loved but not absolute trust. They felt in their heart of hearts Nehru in the highest respect and reposed in him for Freedom. Yes, the country held Pandit Motilal for and trust in those who lead them in the struggle his people, viz, the message of spontaneous respect which the late Panditji had taught had gone home to and leader. In all this one could see that the message-ark, paid in silence their homage to the great depart-he afternoon the citizens, assembled in Sradhananda ity presented the appearance of a life paralysed. In and colleges closed and a hartal followed. The whole Calcutta than almost all work stopped, the schools cess mourning. No sooner had the news reached out passed away throwing a whole nation into voice- p the terraces of Lucknow, the sturdy and capacious was just breaking through the horizon and lighting the struggle ended on Friday morning. As the Sun claiming struggle with Death of Pandit Motilal Nehru. watched from far and near the gallant and uncon-

The whole country was deeply moved as for days
(Calcutta)
The Advance

stant when his life's mission will stand completely filled and his countrymen will meet to celebrate an occasion and pour out the gratitude of their hearts his sacred memory.

ducting a case for which he had been specially retained. Panditji heard the call, threw himself into the thick of the fight and was flung into prison on the first of July. He came out on the 8th of September, shattered in health, and his doctors thought almost beyond repair. Shattered in health but not broken in spirit. From his headquarters, his death-bed, he keenly watched the battle on all the fronts and directed the movements of the leaders and workers. Of him it may, indeed, be said as of very few, that he died in harness.

Panditji lived a great life, fought a great fight and has died a great death. Born to lead he led wherever he found himself. Whether at the Bar, or on the floor of the Assembly, or at the deliberations of the Congress and the Swarajya Party, wherever he appeared, he left his mark. His directness and sincerity disarmed those who differed from him. His wit and humour brightened up the most tired of faces. His singleness of purpose and noiseless energy put faith and enthusiasm into all doubters. The Report which he drew up for the All-Parties Conference will endure as a testimony of his will to peace and unity. An uncompromising fighter, a selfless patriot, Pandit Motilal Nehru has verily offered himself a sacrifice on the altar of Freedom, while to the nation he has left a priceless legacy in his son who will continue the struggle which he began in 1920 with Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and Mahatma Gandhi. To Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his mother and the other members of the family the nation offers its deepest condolences. The whole country mourns with them the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru and would fain share with them in spirit their sufferings in the cause of the motherland.

The Liberty (Calcutta)

It is disastrous—the passing away of Pandit Motilal. Seldom has death counted a more princely

toll. Seldom has a greater calamity, more distressing, more devastating, befallen a people. That pride of life which scorned pity and decay, that determination which breathed defiance at fear and defeat is no more. Pandit Motilal is no more. Death has overpowered the flesh that was weak, when the spirit was yet brave and would conquer.

Of the great race of the makers of history, Pandit Motilal took upon himself to fashion the life and destinies of the people around him in the mould of greatness that he conceived and realised. The stage on which he set his life and his thought was comprehensive. And its greatness was like the greatness of a great architecture. Intellectual illumination gave it form and beauty. It was precise. It was perfect. And the precision gave his thought and his outlook a grandeur like that of the gaunt, bare mountain tops. There could be nothing petty about him—no haziness, no luke-warmness. He hated being cramped. He loved life—full and free and unfettered. Out of the fullness of life, out of its richness did he seek to fashion the life of his people. His patriotism was a measure of mental and intellectual conviction. It was the love of life and of greatness consecrated. His faith was an essay in realisation. His conviction gave him his power over his people and his easy way of meeting his adversaries. It was his strength in the fight that he loved.

Who can forget the fury of the convinced patriot crying his defiance at misused authority on the blood-soaked earth of agonised Punjab? Who can forget the valiant fighter mercilessly assailing the pretensions and hypocrisies of unjust authority? Pandit Motilal did not pity weakness in any quarter; and he hated being favoured. With a pride that comes easy to a strength of conviction and an aristocratic of culture, he scorned frowns, and forsook the privileges that go with power, and the power that privileges give. He loved freedom—because it was his right to be free; freedom is a tribute of the greatness he conceived. Nothing oppressed him so much as

the nightmare of patronage, of privileges and of the poverty of life. The vision of India free has eluded his grasp in life. He leaves it—still a vision, though not a distant vision—to be realised by a grateful sorrow-laden people. He has joined the band of the Immortals—the Lokmanya and the Deshbandhu and his soul will watch the griefs and sorrows of bereaved people and bless their efforts to win the fight which he planned, led and almost won.

The Bengalee (Calcutta)

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru removes from our midst one of the most outstanding figures in Indian politics to-day. His sacrifices for the cause of his country and the devotion with which he served, have endeared his name to every Indian irrespective of caste, creed or even political difference. What makes his death more tragic is that it should have occurred at this particular time when his counsel would have been of extraordinary value both to his colleagues and his countrymen. That in his old age and in poor health, he should have felt it necessary to court imprisonment shows how he counted his sacrifice too great for the attainment of the freedom of his country. And now when the fearful trip is over and the ship is fairly within sight of the harbour, only the deck the captain lies fallen, cold and dead. It is a tragedy too deep for tears. His only son, Pandit Jawaharlal will have the consolation that a whole nation shares with him his grief at the passing away of one of India's noblest sons.

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette (Calcutta)

As we go to press comes the melancholy news of the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru, one of the greatest of political leaders India has produced in modern times.

A prince among men has fallen; the passion for freedom has consumed his physical frame. The worker has been spirited away before his work was finished. What high inscrutable purpose there may lie behind it He alone knows Who shapes our ends:

No service was too exacting, no sacrifice too great for the cause he made his own. He had seen a vision—a vision of a free and liberated India—and every hour of his life since, waking or asleep, it was calling unto him to go forward and strive for its fulfilment.

It is a death which is the envy of mortals. Like Dadhichi of the *Puranas*, Pandit Motilal has given his bones, and if we his countrymen can make thunder-bolt of them, his sacrifice and sufferings will not go in vain.

We salute his soul again and again; may his spirit, from its place among the immortals, guide us and inspire us and show us light in the darkness of despair that overwhelms us to-day.

The Leader

(*Allahabad*)

The sad news of the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will cast a gloom over the whole country. All his life he was a fighter and with characteristic strength of will he even fought Death itself. Though his mighty spirit has thrown of its mortal coil, his immense sacrifices in the cause of his country's freedom, his great sincerity of purpose, his indomitable courage and untiring energy and lofty patriotism will for long be a source of inspiration to his countrymen. He was a tower of strength to the national cause, and he has been taken away by Providence, whose ways are inscrutable, at a time when his mature judgment, penetrating intellect and exalted patriotism were most needed for dealing with problems of extraordinary complexity. We can think of no one in the Congress who can replace him adequately and

none, in a public sense, will feel his loss more grievously than Mahatma Gandhi who attached the highest value to his political judgment. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru were in a sense complementary to each other. The one represented the soul and the other the brain of the national movement. Pandit Motilal Nehru in spite of the fact that he had reached the allotted span of three score and ten, remarkably preserved his physical and mental vigour. It could not be said of him that he was past work. This fact will add keenness to the edge of public sorrow for his loss.

His political career has a lesson to teach to those who have had the shaping of the destiny of this country in their hands. They have by their shortsighted and reactionary policy, their disregard of public opinion and opposition to nationalist aspirations, and their encouragement of the half, the lame and the blind, alienated many of the finest spirit in the land and raised enormous forces of discontent. Convinced in their own infirmity and :

led by the life of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his public utterances during momentous periods in the recent history of the country they will perhaps realize the principal responsibility lies for the existing state of affairs.

As the extracts from his speeches which we publish elsewhere will show, he was in the beginning of his political career one of the most moderate and responsible of Indian leaders. His admiration for British character and his faith in Government's goodness and Britain's righteousness was unbounded. He was one of the promoters of Newspapers Limited which owns the Leader and which was founded to fight reaction on one side and extremism on the other, and was its first chairman. His experience brought

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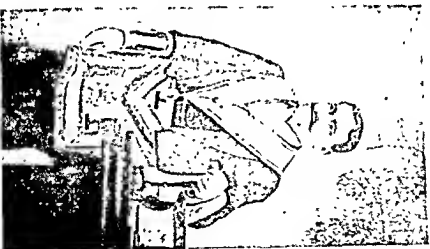
butory causes, but the fundamental change in his outlook is largely traceable to acts and policies of Government which drove into opposition many an eminent Indian, among whom is Mahatma Gandhi himself. And yet we believe, in spite of his apparent extremism, Pandit Motilal Nehru continued to be a moderate at heart. And there are many like him in the Congress whose heart yearns for peace and who would be found ready for a just and reasonable settlement.

Pandit Motilal possessed many great qualities. In addition to his uncommon intellectual gifts, he possessed remarkable qualities of leadership. His businesslike methods, masterful personality and concentrated earnestness of purpose made him a successful leader and organiser. In spite of his autocratic temperament, which was a part of his strong and decisive nature, he knew how to handle men. If he was a great and able fighter as a lawyer, he was a formidable foe as a politician. With these qualities he combined a spirit of sacrifice which was remarkably demonstrated when he gave up his lucrative practice, devoted himself whole-heartedly to the cause of the country and courted imprisonment during the non-cooperation days. It is not surprising that endowed with such high qualities and with a splendid record of self-sacrificing public service he should have become the idol of the people. Twice he was elected President of the great national organisation. His first election followed the great services he rendered to the oppressed people of the Punjab in exposing the atrocities committed during the martial law regime and helping them in their hour of suffering. His address at the Amritsar Congress principally dealt with the two burning topics of the day, the Punjab outrages and the Reforms Act. His view with regard to the latter was that although it fell short of the minimum demands made by the Congress they should make the most of what they had got. He appealed to the Congressmen "to work the new Reforms, utilize them for the betterment of the country

and 'continue to press and agitate for our full demand.' With true political foresight, however, he opposed the Ordinance-making power of the Government-General. "I cannot reconcile myself to the idea" he said, "that a single individual, be he the wisest and most responsible man on earth, should be invested, even in an emergency, with the power to enact laws affecting a fifth of the human race." His presidential address at the Calcutta Congress in 1928 bore testimony to his political foresight. He declared that again we are on the threshold of another great struggle for freedom. Reviewing the political situation he made a plain matter of fact statement from a plain matter of fact man of the world as it is, and not the world as it should be. He contended that pure idealism completely divorced from realities had no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening. He emphasised that 'false analogies from other countries can only help to confuse the issues.' The police high-handedness attending the progress of the Simon Commission appeared to him 'symptomatic of grave organic defect and not merely of the well-known functional incapacity of the Government. Referring to the warnings of indefinite repression indulged in by the Anglo-Indian press he declared "that there can be nothing better than "resolute government" at this juncture to bring matters to a head. He pointed out that coercive methods defeated their own purpose but 'the bureaucracy had little use for lessons of history.' As regards the demand for 'complete independence' voiced at the Madras session of the Congress he said: 'I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full Dominion Status—as full as any Dominion possesses it today—provided I get it before it loses all attractions.' He forecasted that there was nothing before the country but a protracted life-and-death struggle on the one side, and continued repression relieve by an occasional dose of indulgent oppression on the other; for he believed 'only when

שמואל בן יוסף

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU



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Congress and triumphed at the Lahore Congress. At Lahore the centre and the left wings of the Congress coalesced and passed a resolution in favour of the starting of civil disobedience movement. This session was preceded by the walk-out of the Swarajists from the legislatures, although many of them strongly disapproved of the decision for the boycott of the legislatures. Pandit Motilal Nehru, owing to indifference, did not take an active part in the campaign of civil disobedience which was started by Mahatma Gandhi, but when the call of duty came he responded with alacrity and was imprisoned. While in jail the condition of his health became so alarming that he was released. He did not regain his normal health after coming out, and in spite of the best available medical aid and careful nursing his condition grew steadily worse. He has at last succumbed to his ailments and the great leader who was ever in the vanguard in the battle of freedom is no more. He wanted to live to see India free. But he was not spared to witness the fruition of his selfless labours and sacrifices and the fulfilment of his heart's desire. May his soul rest in peace. To Mrs. Motilal Nehru and his son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of his family we offer our respectful condolence in their great bereavement. Their poignant grief will be shared by the whole country.

The Pioneer

(Allahabad)

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will be mourned by people of all classes and communities in India, and they will join whole-heartedly the Viceroy and Lady Irwin in extending their deep sympathy to the members of the bereaved family. The tributes, which have been pouring in from all quarters from Indians and Europeans, from political opponents as well as colleagues eloquently demonstrate the wide-spread respect in which the late Pandit was held. Testimony has been forthcoming from many sources to the

brilliant ability and loveable qualities of Pandit Motilal Nehru, notably on the Bench and Bar of the Allahabad High Court, probably in a better position than anyone else to estimate his worth. Sir Grimwood Mears was indulging in no exaggeration when he said that Pandit Motilal Nehru left behind a great reputation in that court and that his name will be one of its proud traditions.

In the course of his remarkable career, the political opinions of Pandit Motilal Nehru underwent many puzzling changes. In his early days he was an admirer of British rule and he had great faith in Parliament as the "final arbiter of India's destinies." There was never any question of Pandit Motilal Nehru's great love for his country and that he made great sacrifices for his convictions. The recognition which had been accorded to him as an outstanding political leader had been gained in spite of the fact that he was an intellectual rather than a demagogue, who sought popularity and cheap applause. But many of his best friends and the greatest admirers of his gifts deeply regretted and could never understand why when the British Government were most favorably disposed towards India and was engaged in developing a great and comprehensive scheme of reforms calculated to give all that he had so staunchly fought for Pandit Motilal Nehru should have become an apostle of revolution. The grief felt at his death by many of his friends will be intensified because they had hoped that he survived and had had the health and strength, he would at the present critical juncture have exercised a moderating influence in the counsels of his political colleagues and that he would later have brought to bear his great abilities on the working of the new constitution.

The Hindu.

(Madras)

The news of the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will come with almost the violence of a personal

heraivement to every Indian home. The sense of the national loss is not the less poignant because the daily bulletins about the inexorable progress of the disease had in a way prepared the country for the worst. Motilal was not merely the greatest of our older statesmen, but at no time in our history has the need for such wise guidance as he could give been so urgent and indispensable. The sorrow and suffering that he so cheerfully faced in the cause of the country were deeply uncongenial to one who had led a princely life and undetermined a health never robust and thereby hastened the end. Barely a few days before his passing he is reported to have told a friend, "I am not afraid of death and I have had enough of life, but I am determined to live till I have seen the birth of a Free India." Death, alas, has won—and that is his country's misfortune; indeed there seems to be a fatality dogging her footsteps, which has snatched away some of her ablest and most devoted sons in the critical moments of her struggle for freedom. But such an optimism was in every way characteristic of the man—his Roman fortitude, the zest with which he enjoyed the good things of this life, the deliberate resolve with which he put them aside when the vision splendid of a free India came to him, and the indomitable spirit that sustained him, to the last in the hope of seeing that vision realised, though the frail body was visible crumbling day by day. Great in life he was not less great in death.

Motilal has many claims to the proud and grateful remembrance of his countrymen. He was a great advocate, a brilliant tactician, an unrivalled political organiser and he commanded the allegiance of the intelligentsia in a measure unequalled by any other statesman of recent times with the exception of Tilak. He had, too, that rare social charm which is the index of a native aristocracy of soul and which no political vicissitude can quench. But the quality that one prized most in him was the fundamental sanity and breadth of his outlook. He had the truly international mind. It was not the shallow cosmopolitanism

of the clever idler who finds in it a refuge from responsibility. Nor was it the pretentious idealism with which *blase* politicians are wont to while away a holiday stay at Geneva. He was a man to whose knowledge of the workings of the European mind came naturally; and the European in his turn could understand him whereas he was merely puzzled or the volcanic emotionalism of a Das. He could play their own game as easily as the best of them and beat them at long odds. And the heat of the fray led no grudge or bitterness in his heart. Few of the Englishmen to whom it fell to cross swords with him in the Assembly would, we fancy, deny this or that he was undoubtedly the greatest Parliamentarian that India has so far produced. When she is on the eve of changes which are likely to usher in the reality of Parliamentary Government and not its semblance how great is the loss she has sustained in his death! may well be imagined. Even more tragic does become when we consider that in the difficult days ahead, when a false step may dispel all chances of a honourable settlement or plunge the country in a struggle of which no one can foresee the end, we shall miss his sage counsel, the pervasive influence of his urbane personality, his enviable gift of establishing contacts, and the steady fire of his patriotism. Many and great have been his gifts to his Motherland; and the least of them is a son of whom the country is justly proud.

The Swarajya

(Madras)

Pandit Motilal Nehru passed at 6 this morning. The news will be received with profound grief and consternation throughout the country. At the critical juncture in national fortunes, the passing away of this great patriot creates a void which cannot easily be filled for a long time to come. It is impossible to speak of Pandit Motilal Nehru without deep emotion.

tion. For, along with Desabandhu Das, he furnishes supreme example of the splendid sacrifice which, it is the pride of the movement initiated by Gandhiji to have evolved from out of the lives of men born and bred up in the lap of luxury. The extent of this sacrifice towers above every other of the numerous manifestations of greatness which enriched and sanctified Gandhiji's eventful life. He has left his mark as a great lawyer, a powerful debater, and a singularly able and gifted party leader, but we believe the most monumental and lasting expression of the regard and homage of his countrymen will be founded on the energy and fearlessness which he imparted to Congress politics moulding out of it the magnificent fighting organisation which it has become to-day. Pandit Motilal has been the standard-bearer of national self-respect whenever it received its most grievous injury. His very first emergence into active political warfare is a revelation of the essential character of the man. When the whole of the Punjab was cowed down by the terrors of the martial law regime, Pandit bravely official opposition and almost at the risk of life, became the protector of the stricken province. When the late Lord Birkenhead superciliously flaunted his gibe about Indian incapacity to get together an agreed constitution, Pandit Motilal instantaneously set to work, and within the close of the year, the Nehru report was ready. When the insufferable insult of the Simon enquiry was hurled against the nation, Pandit Motilal and his family made history in India about the power and potentiality of the people's will. From whichever quarter the challenge came, the guardianship of national honour has been maintained with alertness and capacity by Pandit Motilal. But perhaps the greatest tribute to his patriotism and public spirit is evidence in the marvellous manner in which he has been able to refashion a naturally aristocratic temperament to the necessities of democratic leadership. He was one of the Titans of our public life in this generation and the force he put into the struggle for Swaraj is incalculable. We are

He was endowed with many gifts. A self-sacrificing patriot, an intrepid fighter, a masterful statesman and, above all, an unfailing friend of the poor, he was the embodiment of the qualities of a true aristocrat in an age which professes but does not practise democracy. The story of his heroic sacrifice—the abandonment of a princely practice was the least part of it—will never be forgotten by generations of his fellow-countrymen. He died at a ripe age, but there

effective. the success of India's cause was the largest and most in the ranks of these leaders and his contribution to Pandit Motilal Nehru occupied an honourable place and the prospect of honourable victory possible. services and sacrifices have made the present struggle Khan, Lala Lajpatrai and Mahomed. Ali—whose death of five dynamic personalities—Tilak, Das, Ajmal During the last ten years India has mourned the estimate of it in the language of the commonplace. is so immense that it is difficult to make an adequate sustained by the death of such an outstanding figure enviable than this. The loss that the country has Gandhi. No patriot could desire a destiny more her past. Pandit Motilal played during this period a role only less dominant than that of Mahatma freedom ensuring a future for her more glorious than the period of her unique struggle for freedom, a new as the most epoch-making period of India's history— will be remembered by generations of Indians to come great leader is dead. The last ten years and more is the loss that it is impossible to realise that the Pandit Motilal Nehru is dead. So overwhelming

(Bombay)

The Bombay Chronicle

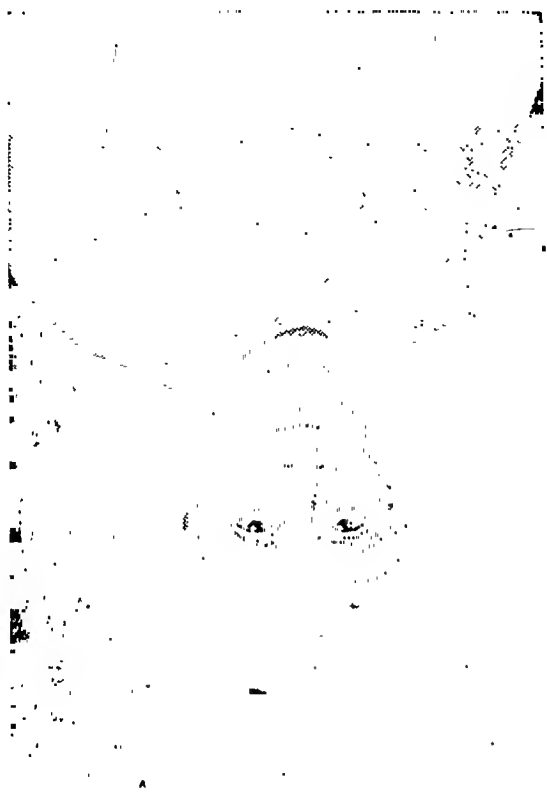
averse to think that the cause of Swaraj will suffer by his passing away. For it is the quality of the great that their memory speaks with no less eloquence when they are gone than that of their own words and deeds when they are alive.

PRESS APPRECIATIONS

is no doubt that his death was hastened by the suffering that imprisonment, which he cheerfully underwent, involved. As a fighter he never flinched, however heavy the odds against him, and it was his unvalued courage that had no little share in stimulating the efforts of the country in this last struggle for freedom. His masterful statesmanship was displayed in the efficient organisation and consummate leadership of the Swaraj Party and in the preparation of the famous Nehru Report, which, though scrapped for the time being, is a historical document and will form the basis of India's constitution. That his judgment of men and affairs was unerring was demonstrated on many an occasion, but most strikingly when he, to the surprise of no few of his intimate associates, helped Gandhiji in formulating the decision which the Lahore Congress endorsed. There were then many who doubted whether the country would make an adequate response to the call of the Lahore Congress. Pandit was emphatically not one of them and one was a stouter and more confident supporter of Mahatma Gandhi than Pandit Motilal when he expected great things from his Nation and magnificently justified his expectation. Though longing to see his country free in his lifetime, he did not realise, he died a happy death in the consciousness that his countrymen had, by their sacrifices, assured the attainment of that freedom. No war could desire a happier death.

The "Evening News of India", writes:—
 "Though he was in the thick of the 1930 Civil disobedience campaign he was never a firebrand nor was he entirely uncompromising. I can't say it he said of him that he gave to the world what was meant for Parliament."
 There could be no greater label of the departed leader than is contained in the last sentence. The ruling passion of his life was an unbounded

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.





The death of Pandit Motilal coming at a moment, when the country he served with unremitting devotion and self-sacrifice is engaged in a struggle of unparalleled magnitude and gravity is a tragedy which it is impossible to measure in terms. India has produced many great men in the present generation, sterling patriots who have sacrificed all that a man can give for the cause of freedom,—spiritual peace, physical health, material wealth and social happiness—men like Deshbandhu Das, Lala Lajpat

(Bombay)

The Weekly Herald

of the poor and it was because he realised that the woes of India's poverty-stricken millions could not be ended without freeing the country from foreign domination that he took part in, and for several months led, the Civil Disobedience Movement. Jawaharlal—Pandit Motilal's greatest gift to his Nation—is justly regarded as the leader of India's Youth. But how very few of us realise that a greater leader of India's Youth was Pandit Motilal himself, who though old in age, never lost the spirit of Youth. It was this spirit of Youth in him—the constructive adaptability to circumstances which characterised his political career—that made the Lahore decision and all the glory that followed it possible. His loss is not irreparable, for he will continue to live in the hearts of India's young men and women who guided by the lesson of his life and led by Mahatma Gandhi, will accomplish the purpose in whose service he died fighting. His death coming so soon as it does after that of Tilak, Das, Ajmal Khan, Lala Lajpatrai and Mahomed Ali, is a challenge to India's Youth to count no sacrifice too great in carrying on the struggle so that their country becomes free before Death claims any of the few great leaders who survive him whose loss the country mourns to-day as deeply as his illustrious family.

[illegible]

from the example of selfless devotion to the country's cause which Motilal Nehru's abandonment of all the things in life he had hitherto cared for, in order to serve it, any the less magnificent.

Since Pandit Motilal first became a Non-cooperator, after many years of mild participation in politics as a Moderate, the national struggle in India has passed through phases which have brought him from time to time in conflict with many Congressmen. There are still many who believe that the new policy of Council entry, which he and Deshbandu Das inaugurated after their release from jail, did little if anything to benefit the nation and involved a definite set-back to the movement in the country. Certainly the period during which Pandit Motilal was leading the opposition in the Assembly was one of comparative inertia in the country with one half or more of the supporters of the Congress standing gloomily and suspiciously aloof from the men whom Mahatma Gandhi had left to carry on the battle in their own way, though it was not his way and he never approved of though he did not actively oppose it. The fact was, that Pandit Motilal, though his sincerity and sterling patriotism were not to be questioned, never actually lost his moderate mentality. He remained a Moderate in essential principles though he became an Extremist in methods, because he recognised that nothing would ever be gained by the old methods and he was deeply moved by the Punjab atrocities. It is doubtful whether the Lahore resolution came within his convictions. He believed to a large extent in the attainment of full Swaraj by stages and in the Nehru constitution, which was practically his own individual effort, he showed that he was prepared to wait for a transitional period during which India would neither be mistress of her own defence nor of the conduct of her foreign relations. But he loyally followed the Congress when events made the further pursuit of a policy which met the British Government halfway a futile quest. And he accepted all the im-

With the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru the most dominant personality in Indian politics has been removed at a most critical point in the

(Poona)

The Labratta.

That his life was shortened by the strenuousness of the activities of the last ten years and especially the strain of the last ten months is undoubted. He went into jail a sick man, in a condition and at an age when the comfort and care only to be obtained in his own home was essential to his recovery, and his release came too late to be of avail in enabling the doctors to restore him. His health was undoubtedly impaired by the strain of his political activities and his death was unquestionably hastened by his imprisonment. Had he lived he would have been a tower of strength to the country at this juncture although he would himself have been ready to negotiate for terms involving a settlement considerably less than the Lahore resolution laid down, as his interview with George Slocome clearly showed, would have loyally abided by whatever decision Congress took and given his service to its attainment as energetic ally and with the same determination and self-denial that he displayed during all the years since the launching of the first Non-co-operation movement a service for which he has earned the undying gratitude of his countrymen.

He was a great soldier of Swaraj and when the history of these strenuous times comes to be written his portrait will stand out as one of the giants who helped to bring India at the last with rapid strides to the attainment of her ideal.

applications of the Lahore resolution and threw himself into the Civil Disobedience movement despite his weakening health, with all his old energy and fighting spirit.

struggle for freedom, when his presence would have been of the utmost use and have exercised the most potent and salutary influence. The Congress Working Committee was meeting the Round Table Delegates who had been summoned to Allahabad immediately after their landing in India. Decisions about the future of Indian constitutional reforms were to be taken after consultation with them. Whole nation's eyes and even the eyes of Great Britain were directed to the upshot of these intended grave consultations. But in the midst of all these expectations and plans, the illness of Pandit Motilal took a serious turn. A dark cloud of anxiety was spread over the public mind. Prayers for long life to Panditji, began to be offered to the Almighty all over India. He was taken to Lucknow for X-Ray examination and last Friday morning found India flung into tremendous spasms of grief at the shocking news that Death had snatched him away from his bed, surrounded and guarded as it was by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Nehru family, not to say pre-eminent medical men who were in constant and vigilant attendance!

What earthly power can withstand the tricky fatal onslaughts which the ever jealous and ungracious Fate takes wicked delight in launching against Indian leaders at crucial moments in the history of the nation, which they had consecrated their lives to emancipate from foreign thralldom? Lokamanya Tlalak, Deshbandhu Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahomed Ali—alas, Death laid His icy hand on their glorious heads exactly at a time when their live energies and thoughts were mightily needed to give the proper lead to the nation. And yet the demise of Pandit Motilal in the nation's present circumstances cannot but be described as the most unkindest cut of all. It is indeed, a national disaster. It is a crushing blow to his worthy son, the mirror of Young India's aspirations, and to his patriotic family. It is a personal and irreparable loss to Mahatma Gandhi. It is a stab in the heart of the Congress. It is a great

calamity to all, all his followers, admirers and friends in all parties, who have exhibited the bigh and reverential regard in which the illustrious deceased was held, by means of the fine tributes paid to his inspiring memory after his death.

With the weight of almost three score years and ten Pandit Motilalji was, by far, the doyen of Congress politics. A Kasurji Brahmin, born not of a very renowned family, Panditji got himself fairly educated and having passed the pleader's examination started practice first at Cawnpur and then at Allahabad where, by his forensic skill of the highest order he occupied the pride of place. And even into death he stood head and shoulders above the pleader-classes in the U. P., if not other parts of India too. By death of his

fluence in the Government circles not excluding the Governor of the U. P. himself, he also distinguished himself in the local Legislative Council and through influence towards Moderatism in politics, he became a member of Dr. Bhasant's Home Rule League after her inception. The Jallianwalla Bagh succeeded and when, a most capable member of the Congress Inquiry Committee into that tragedy which will be an eternal shame to Great Britain, his mind was touched with the inhumanity, he veered towards nationalism. He came into the most intimate contact with Mahatma Gandhi and since 1919 he has been the sternest opponent of the British Raj and the strongest pillar of the Indian National Congress. In 1919 at Amritsar and 1928 at Calcutta he was called upon by the nation to preside over the Congress sessions; and thereby to manifest what undoubted confidence it was reposing in him. He was twice imprisoned, but he did not at all lessen the inexhaustible fund of energy, which he had left at the nation's disposal. Hence, no rest in discharging his duties and he must be said, without doubt, to have died in harness, in far as on his death-bed too, he was holding discussion

as to the course the nation should adopt with respect to the Premier's speech.

His sublime leadership of the non-official section of the Legislative Assembly during 1923-29, his Secretaryship of the Swarajya Party formed at Gaya, his achievement of the Nehru Report and many other outstanding facts in his political career, will always continue to bear witness to his capacity of work, his skill in negotiations with other parties, his ambitious constructive and destructive statesmanship, his dexterous diplomacy, his strength of convictions and other qualities which served to exalt him above the whole galaxy of national leaders. He was made of the stuff of which Prime Ministers and Ambassadors in free countries are made. The grievous irony of the slavish national condition is that such first-class talents and abilities have to be wasted in opposition to the system of Government that obtains in the country. But that price of freedom has to be paid. Tlak, Lalaji, Das and many others did pay it. Nor did Pandit Motilalji spare himself in footing the bill. And when one thinks, in this stain, of the huge loss sustained by the nation, one is convinced of the urgency of the problem of dissolution of India's bondage being triumphantly tackled with redoubled vigour and sacrifice, so that such valiant and noble-minded leaders might be in a position to lend greater glory and embellishment to the emancipated India.

Like Pandit's political and diplomatic abilities, his sacrifice too was unbounded. The fact of his gift of the palatial 'Anand Bhawan' to the nation is fresh in the public mind. His sacrifice in money too stands unmatched. His house had always been almost a national guest-house, the rich and raining abundance of which all leader and workers could gladly partake. Of superb fineness and culture of mind and behaviour he was a veritable model.

But, by the cruel stroke of Destiny, Pandit Motilalji is gone, never to return. And gone, gone are with him the qualities of a loving father, a hospi-

37. Industrial matters :

(a) *Law relating to the welfare of labour.*(b) *Law relating to the Provident fund.*(c) *Law relating to Industrial Insurance—General health and accident.*38. *Law relating to Control of mines.*

39. Medical qualifications and standards.

40. Stores and stationery for the Commonwealth.

41. Central publicity and intelligence department.

42. Zoological survey ; botanical survey ; archaeology.

43. Central agencies and institutions for research (including

observatories) and for professional and technical training or promo-

tion of special studies.

44. Territorial changes, other than intra-provincial, and declara-

tion of laws in connection therewith.

45. All property of the Commonwealth.

46. Legislation regarding forests.

47. Legislation relating to non-judicial stamps.

SCHEDULE II

PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS

1. Land revenue including assigned land revenue; any other tax that may be imposed on land or agricultural income; charge for water survey and settlement; disposal and colonisation of public land and management of government estates.
2. Excise, that is to say the control of manufacture, transport, possession, purchase and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs (except opium), and the levying of excise duties and license fees or in relation to, such articles and other restrictive excises.
3. All local taxation, such as tolls; cesses on land or on values; tax on building; tax on vehicles or boats; tax on animals; and a terminal tax on goods imported into or exported from a local area; tax on trades, professions and callings; tax on private markets; tax on advertisements; tax on amusements or entertainments; tax on gambling; taxes imposed in return for services rendered by the local authority.
4. Land acquisition by and within the province.
5. Administration of forests and preservation of game.
6. Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental demonstration farms, protection against destruction by insects, pests.
7. Fisheries, excluding Commonwealth fisheries.
8. Water supply, irrigation canals, drainage and embankments and inter-provincial concern or affect the relations of a province with an Indian state or any other territory.
9. Public works and undertakings, within the province including bridges, roads, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, causeways, tramways, light and feeder railways; inland waterways and other means of communication except:

- (a) such railways, roads and inland waterways as are central subjects.
- (b) all such works as extend beyond the borders of province.
- (c) such works (although wholly situate within the province) as may be declared by parliament to be of all India importance.
9. Co-operative societies.
10. Development of mineral resources.
11. Famine relief.
12. Pilgrimages within India.
13. Local self-government including constitution and powers of Municipal Corporations, Local Boards, Village Panchayats, Improvement Trusts, Town Planning Boards and other authorities in the province, and local fund audit.
14. Medical administration including hospitals, dispensaries, asylums, and provision for medical education.
15. Public health and sanitation and vital statistics.
16. Education, including universities and technical institutes, provincial institutions for professional or technical training and for promotion of technical studies.
17. Court of Wards and encumbered and attached estates.
18. Land improvement and agricultural loans.
19. Land tenures and landlord and tenant, rent law.
20. Administration-General and Official Trustees subject to legislation by central legislature.
21. Development of industries, including industrial research.
22. Police, including military and armed police maintained by the province and Railway Police, subject in the case of Railway Police to such rules as may be prescribed by Parliament as to limits of jurisdiction and railway contribution to cost of maintenance.
23. Adulteration of foodstuffs and other articles.
24. (a) Control of vehicles, subject in the case of motor vehicles to legislation by the central legislature as regards licenses valid throughout India.
- (b) Control of dramatic performances and cinematographs.
25. Prisons, prisoners and reformatories and vagrancy.

27. Backward tribes and their settlements.
28. Treasure trove.
29. Administration of justice, in the province including constitution, maintenance and organisation of courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction.
30. Election for the legislature of the province.
31. Legislation imposing punishments by fine, penalty, imprisonment for breach of any law of the province in relation to any provincial matter.
32. The borrowing of money on the state credit of the province subject to sanction of central Government; assets and property of the province.
33. Administration of the law relating to the registration of births, deaths and marriages.
34. Provincial law reports.
35. Minor ports.
36. Public libraries, except the Imperial Library at Calcutta; museums except the Indian Museum, the Imperial War Museum and the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta; zoological and botanical gardens and registration of societies.
37. Pounds and prevention of cattle trespass.
38. Civil Veterinary Department, including provisions for veterinary training, improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases.
39. Factories, subject to legislation by central legislature.
40. Settlement of labour disputes.
41. Gas and electricity.
42. Boilers.
43. Smoke nuisances.
44. Housing of labour.
45. Coroners.
46. Provincial stores and stationery.
47. Provincial Government press.
48. Provincial services and Provincial Services Commission.
49. The seat of the provincial Government.

50. Control of elections subject to regulation by central government.
51. Fees, including court fees ; probate duties ; succession or estate duties.
52. Control of production, supply, and distribution, subject to rules made by the central legislature.
53. Development of industries, subject to rules made by central legislature.
54. Religious and charitable endowments, subject to legislation by central legislature.
55. Regulation of betting and gambling, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
56. Prevention of cruelty to animals and protection of wild birds and animals, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
57. Non-judicial stamps, subject to legislation by the central legislature ; and judicial stamps, subject to legislation by the central legislature as regards amount of court-fees levied in relation to suits and proceedings in the high courts under their original jurisdiction.
58. Registration of deeds and documents subject to legislation by the central legislature.
59. Weights and measures, subject to legislation by the central legislature as regards standards.
60. Control of poisons ; arms and ammunition ; petroleum and explosives, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
61. Control of newspapers, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
62. Regulation of medical and other professional qualification and standards, subject to legislation by the central legislature.
63. Local Fund Audit.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU: HIS LIFE AND WORK SECOND EDITION Few Opinions

".....It contains besides numerous press tributes and details upto the State ceremony, the full text of the Nehru Constitution which in view of the impending constitutional changes should be read and digested by all and all, who want intelligently to follow the constitutional developments.
—*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

..... The book is complete in itself as it included not only the events of life of Pandit Motilal but also what his countrymen think of him is expressed in the eloquent tributes paid to his memory after his demise. The "foreword" by Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh M.A., B.L., the well-known scholar and publicist, also enhances the value of the book. Besides, the book is profusely illustrated with an exquisitely designed multi-coloured representation on the cover of Motilal before Mother India and Triak, C. R. Das and Lajpat Rai showering flowers on his head as well as about two dozens other portraits of Motilal with his family in the various phases of his life, Mahatma Gandhi and other co-workers. The full text of the Nehru Report and Pandit Motilal's Presidential address at last Calcutta Sessions of the Congress have been published, adding to the numerous attractions of the book. In short it is a superb publication doing full justice to great theme....."—*The Bengalee.*

..... The jacket printed in four colour depicting Motilal Nehru as laying down his life fighting for the emancipation of his country and Desband, silk and a just showering flowers from heaven..... The Publishers deserve congratulation in the speed with which they have brought such a big and attractive volume within a fortnight of Pandit's death.—*Rangoon Daily News.*

The compilers and publishers have shown considerable enterprise in bringing out so soon after Pandit's demise, this interesting volume. The book as a whole is well-conceived tribute to the memory of a great patriot.—*Hindu.*

FRIENDS,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me in electing me to preside for a second time over this great national assembly. That honour, signal as it is, carries with it a burden which is none too light, and the bravest amongst us may well hesitate to shoulder it. You are well aware how I have hesitated. But the exceeding kindness with which you have repeated your confidence in me has left me no choice but to bow to your will and to endeavour to shoulder, as best as I can, the heavy burden of guiding a great nation in its struggle for freedom. That very kindness also emboldens me to expect from you every indulgence and co-operation in the high task with which you have entrusted me.

Nine years ago I had the honour to preside over the National Congress. Martial Law with all its grim consequences and implications had just come and gone, and we were preparing for a great tussle with our alien rulers. That trial of strength came soon after and although we did not emerge victorious, the honours of war were with us and the promise of future victory was ours. The great giant, that is India, woke up for a while and the very awakening shook the foundations of British rule. There was a reaction and a relapse; but again we see unmistakable signs of another and a greater awakening, and

1928

AT THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS,

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU'S

APPENDIX A.

who will stop India in her forward stride when she is fully awakened. Non-co-operation followed Dyeism and O'Dwyerism. Somewhat seriously like these is again in the air, and again we are on the threshold of another great struggle for freedom.

In this struggle we shall unhappily miss many familiar faces, many trusty counsellors and gallant warriors who are no more. We shall miss Hakim Ajmal Khan and Lala Lajpat Rai whose death in the course of the year has deprived India in the moment of trial of two of her most trusted and valiant sons. Another ex-president who has passed away was Lord Sinha. Among other national workers who have gone I should like to mention specially Mangal Das and Gopabandhu Das and Andharatna Gopal Krishnamaya. On behalf of this Congress I offer its respectful condolence to the families of departed colleagues.

I now proceed to place my views and suggestions before you the immediate work before us. To prevent disappointment I must the outset prepare you for a plain matter of fact statement from a plain matter of fact man of the world as it is, and not of the world it should be. Let me warn you that you will be disappointed if you expect from me anything in the nature of high idealism presented in an attractive setting of word and phrase. Not that I deprecate idealism in the broader sense or am less convinced than anybody else of the supreme necessity of keeping the highest ideal in view, providing you try to live up to it. But pure idealism completely divorced from realities has no place in politics and is but a happy dream which may sooner or later end in a rude awakening. However high pitched ideal may be, and the higher the better, the actual work to be done in the pursuit of that ideal must be guided solely by practical considerations. I am sure that we are all agreed upon that ideal though it give it different names. I am equally sure that we are also agreed upon the only way to achieve it. But the tragedy of it all is that we have so magnified our differences on what to my mind are non-essentials that we are unable to see the wood for the trees. These differences lie at the root of our failures, and are responsible for conflicts of schools of thought which have rendered common action impossible. In my humble judgment the whole trouble is traceable to varying

(1) WHERE DO WE STAND ?

(2) WHAT IS OUR DESTINATION ? And

(3) HOW CAN WE REACH OUR DESTINATION ?

I shall endeavour to answer these questions to the best of my ability more from the practical than the dialectical point of view.

We have first to make sure of where we stand so as not to lose our bearings after we start. The point has a twofold aspect—one in relation to the Government and the other in relation to ourselves. As to the former we all know that whatever political or civil rights we possess they are in the nature of a conditional gift enjoyable during the pleasure of our rulers. They can deprive us, and indeed have from time to time actually deprived thousands of us, of those rights at any moment with or without reason at their sweet will by using the vast reserve of arbitrary power which they retain in their own hands. I will not encumber this address by repeating an oft told tale. It is well-known how the present Government has re-enforced and consolidated itself in the political and economic spheres by legislative, executive, and administrative action. It will serve no useful purpose to take you through the long list of repressive and oppressive measures which have been taken in India from the beginning of British rule down to the present day, or to remind you of how, after we were thoroughly crippled, the door to recovery was completely barred against us. We have been persistently denied all "opportunity for self-realisation, self-development, and self-fulfilment" for which Desh-bandhu Chittaranjan Das fought so valiantly in the closing years of his life. We have been scrupulously shut out of all effective part in the internal and external affairs of our own country.

The solemn promises of responsible government have found fulfilment in that colossal fraud, the Statutory Commission, which is now careering along our streets leaving bleeding heads and broken bones behind. Nothing has so clearly brought out the cold callousness of the officials on the one hand, and the utter helplessness of the people to protect themselves on the other, as the progress of this Commission from town to town. To my mind the circumstances attending it are symptomatic of a grave organic infection and not merely of the well-known functional incapacity of the Government. It shows the pre-

sence of the toxin of Dyerism in their internal economy. The happenings at Lahore and Lucknow are only mild eruptions on the surface indicating the deep rooted disease within. We are indebted to the stupidity of the special correspondent of an English newspaper of Calcutta for a glimpse into the real mentality of the members of the Commission which may be taken as a faithful reflection of the mentality of the Government. He says :

"The Cawnpore scenes have apparently put the finishing touch on a psychic impression which the riotous scenes in Delhi had begun. Some of the Commissioners are making no secret of their indignation that such things should be permitted. I feel that if some of the Commissioners had to write their report this week Lord Salisbury's famous prescription in another matter, 'twenty years of resolute government,' would recommend itself much more to their minds than any advance whatever."

So that the only way to achieve responsible Government for India is to fawn upon the great Commissioners and flatter them with a false declaration of confidence. And the surest way to invite "twenty years of resolute government" is to show your true feelings about the commission. All I need say is that India will refuse to take responsible government as a reward for servility and will welcome "resolute government"; but whether it will last for twenty years the future alone can decide. This prophet of evil has even dared to envisage the future. He proceeds to say :

"I seemed to sense a vision of realities stark and grim, and catch from the future the tramp of marching men."

These remarks were called forth by the grand boycott demonstration which greeted the Commissioners on their arrival at Cawnpore. It is remarkable that while this correspondent was sending his inspired vision, the Police Superintendent of Cawnpore was writing to the organisers thanking them for the excellence of their arrangements and the absence of any untoward incident. That letter has, I believe, been published in the press. But the editor excelled the correspondent, as was befitting his superior position, by indulging in a particularly venomous attack, in the course of which he threatened resistance of the Indian demand for freedom to the "last ounce of ammunition." I am sure that if this

editor and his correspondent had an ounce of discretion between them both, they would not have so easily given away official secrets. But we must thank them for their timely warning and assure them that we are ready. There can be nothing better than 'resolute government' at this juncture to bring matters to a head.

Our English friends affect to be shocked at these demonstrations. I should have ignored the foolish talk in which they have indulged but a responsible statement has recently been publicly made in this City on the subject by the Viceroy, and I feel that I cannot allow it to go unchallenged. However much one may regret untoward incidents, the right to hold peaceful demonstrations to give expression to strong public feeling has never been doubted. The demonstrations held after the return of the Commission to India have been characterised as "unmanly and offensive." My answer is that such demonstrations must in their very nature be 'offensive' to those against whom they are made, and it is hardly reasonable to expect drawing room manners from a hostile crowd. The Viceroy has uttered two platitudes and a threat. The first platitude is: "However much those who organise such demonstrations may themselves deprecate violence they are, when it comes to the point, often quite incapable of controlling the forces they have excited." The second is: "Those who deliberately embarked on a course so crude, so senseless and so dangerous, whatever the object, they may mistakenly desire to serve, incur a very heavy responsibility."

The threat is that 'it is the plain duty of Government to take whatever steps it deems necessary to prevent the recurrence of these discreditiable incidents.'

I agree with His Excellency on the first platitude and would also agree with him on the second if he could subside the word "natural" for the words "crude and senseless."

But both platitudes have no relation whatever to actual facts. As regards the threat it was anticipated by the English newspaper a week before; it indicates an early materialisation of 'resolute government'. I have already dealt with the latter and have nothing further to add. In regard to the former, I have to point out that

it has been established to our entire satisfaction by public statement of responsible Indian leaders, which no amount of departmental enquiry can controvert, that all the violence at these demonstrations was started by the Police, and attempts made by the people at one or two places to retaliate were speedily put down by their leaders. But if a stray missile struck a motor car, one of the occupants of which happened to be a lady, or some men in the large crowds came too near the great Commissioners and waved their black flags in close proximity to their highly respectable noses, is it a matter about which any undue fuss need be made? I am sure that under similar circumstances worse things would have happened in England. I shall like to put a few questions to those who have affected righteous indignation at the happenings at Lahore, Lucknow and Cawnpore. Those Questions are :

(1) Would it be possible in any European country more specially in England for a commission of enquiry, which the people looked upon as a national insult, to travel in the comfort and safety enjoyed by Sir John Simon and his colleagues in India?

(2) Would not all the silken flags and gold embroidered decorations such as were displayed in Butler Park have been torn to shreds and all the beautiful multi-coloured electric lamps, shining on them, smashed to pieces, if any attempt were made in England to entertain publicly, men connected with a mission as highly unpopular among Englishmen as Sir John Simon and his colleagues are among Indians?

(3) How would any Englishman like his house to be broken into his guests treated to a sound thrashing and then arrested and imprisoned for a night for making a peaceful demonstration from his own terrace?

(4) How would an Englishman like to be imprisoned in his own house, for however short a time, for holding opinions against the Government of the day?

(5) How long would a government last in England which allowed the thing mentioned in question (3) and (4) to happen?

We know that the house of the great nationalist nobleman of

Oudh, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, was surrounded with a co-
mission in a neighbouring park. The Maharaja, as is
known, bravely stands for the boycott of the Commission and
refused to take part in any function given in its honour. When
the liberty of the ordinary citizen when the premier baron of C
a retired Home Member of the U. P. Government, decorated
with the highest honours in its gift can be imprisoned in his
house, simply because he holds an opinion disliked by the Gov-
ment? Is this anything very different from the "resolute gov-
ment" foreshadowed by the Viceroy and the English newspa-
It has actually come upon us since.

The recent murder of a police official at Lahore has provided
excuse to those whose minds are already made up, to forge
weapons to destroy the forces of nationalism. It need hard-
ly be said that the crime is to be regretted. Congressmen, who
belonging to the school of independence or that of dominion
stand and have always stood, for a policy of strict non-violence
have given practical proof of the sincerity of their convictions on
merous occasions, including the recent incidents at Lahore, Luck-
now, Calcutta and Patna. It is at present impossible to say what
the Lahore murder had a political significance. But assuming
it had, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the real responsibility
for such incidents lies on the shoulders of the Government. His-
tory teaches us that incidents like these are symptomatic of a condi-
tion which can only be dealt with effectively by a wise and radical change
of policy, and not by resort to coercive methods which defeat their
purpose and are resisted by the people with all the strength of
they are capable. But the bureaucracy has little use for lessons
history. The orgy of repression has already begun in the Punjab
is likely to extend at no distant date to the other provinces.
Forgive me for taking so much of your time over the Com-
mission. It might well have been completely ignored, were it not
the direct bearing it has on the work before us. It is a portent
evil, but not without the good which comes out of all evil. I
shown us the fine courage of our men specially the students.

But by far the most important economic hold which the Government has acquired over the country by legislation and otherwise is through its manipulation of the currency. It will be tedious to go into the history of this highly technical question, but the fact is now admitted that the present depression in Indian commerce and industry, and the low buying power of the cultivator are due to the action of the Government in forcing up the rupee from Rs. 4d. to 15d. It has resulted in pinching the over-taxed cultivator of 12½ per cent. in the price of the raw materials produced by him, and giving a bonus of 12½ per cent. to the importer of foreign manufactures into enterprise.

Let us now turn to the economic sphere. To have an adequate idea of the continuous exploitation to which we have been subjected and of the enormous extent of the economic hold acquired by England over us by legislation and otherwise, it would be necessary to review the whole period of the British occupation of India. I shall however content myself by reminding you of a few historical facts the accuracy of which cannot be questioned. Besides maintaining the costliest civil and military services in the world at our expense, the solicitude of our trustees, as they delight to call themselves, has been mainly directed to the creation of markets in India for England's manufactures. This laudable object has been achieved by a number of direct and indirect methods too numerous to be dealt with satisfactorily in the course of this address. It is a long story beginning from the days of the well-known barbarities committed on the Deccan artisans and continued through periods of more refined spoliation till we come to the present day powerful banking, commercial, and industrial combines which are now successfully choking off indigenous

serene coolness under the gravest provocation, their splendid stand against brutal *fatih* assaults with their own empty hands crossed over their chests, their gallant rescues of their comrades and leaders in utter disregard of the injuries inflicted on them. Let those who take this for cowardice try their "resolute government" and they will soon be disillusioned. They will have the satisfaction of shooting brave, inoffensive men with their backs to the wall and chests bared to receive the bullet.

dia. If the Government had the interests of India at all in view, it could have reduced the land tax by 12½ per cent. and imposed an import duty of 12½ per cent. on all goods which can be manufactured in this country, including textile goods.

It was left to Sir George Godfrey of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to discover for the first time the other day that all the authentic records of India's prosperous trade and commerce before the advent of the British were pure legends. In the course of an utterance at the last meeting at the Associated Chambers of Commerce attacking everything Indian, he justified the British exploitation of India using the same history of England and unknown to the rest of the world which records the fact that the weavers of the English countryside were subjected to the pains and penalties that were inflicted, as proved by European witnesses, on Indian weavers by the East India Company, that the English Countryside was compelled to buy Lancashire cloth in the place of homespun; and the further fact that a Cotton Excise duty was imposed on Lancashire textile while foreign goods were reported free of duty.

His reference to India shipping betrays the same fondness for fiction as his reference to textile does—for facts I must refer you and him to the excellent literature that Mr. Haji has published on his armless and timely bill. Indian shipping was as deliberately sacrificed for the English interest as was India's greatest cottage industry. Now that a belated bill is before the legislature seeking somewhat to stop the continuance of the grave wrong done to Indian shippers by the English monopoly, the monopolists accuse us of attempting racial discrimination and pass a resolution demanding that the legislature shall not have the power to pass that bill.

Not content with distorting history this English merchant prince almost hit below the belt when he suggested that the framers of the draft constitution now before the country had sought to disfranchise Britishers. It was his duty before he brought so grave a charge against responsible men to make sure of his facts. He should have known that as soon as the Committee discovered that there was a

possibility of a doubt they removed it in their supplementary report which was before the country days before Sir George Godfrey delivered his oration.

It will be clear from what I have said above that the process of bringing new chains to keep us in, perpetual bondage has gone on simultaneously with a long protracted, ruthless exploitation of our material resources. While, however, the Government has to answer for a great deal, it must be frankly confessed that we cannot honestly acquit ourselves of all blame for our present plight. The strength or weakness of a nation depends upon the strength or weakness of the elements which keeps its component parts together. In our case this is the case not for centuries been very strong and with the march of the new order of things has lost much of what binding force it ever had. There is no overlooking the fact that we are divided into a number of large and small communities, more or less disorganised and demoralised. The Government is undoubtedly responsible for the prevailing ignorance and poverty among the masses and in a very large measure for the growing hostility among the classes. But certainly is not to blame for the evils of our own social system, which has relegated millions of our people as good as ourselves, to the category of untouchables and depressed classes, and has put our women under restrictions which deprive them not only of many natural rights but also of the opportunity to render national service. Nor is the Government solely accountable for all the communal differences which have contributed a dark chapter to the recent history of our own times.

The Committee of the All Parties Conference has dealt fully in its report with the communal problem in India. It has offered a solution which I trust this Congress will accept. The problem before us however is a wider and more fundamental one than a mere adjustment of communal differences. It is : what place, if any, religion, as practised and understood to-day, should occupy in our public life ? Whatever the higher conception of religion may be, it has in our day-to-day life come to signify bigotry and fanaticism, intolerance and narrow-mindedness, selfishness and the negation of many of the qualities which go to build a healthy society. Its chief inspiration is

hatred of him who does not profess it, and in its holy name more crimes have been committed than for any professedly mundane object. Can any sane person consider the trivial and ridiculous causes of conflict between Hindu and Moslem, or between sect and sect, and not wonder how any one with a grain of sense should be affected by them?

The aim of all education and progress is to develop the collective instinct in man; to teach him to co-operate with his neighbour; and to make him feel that his individual good depend on the good of society as a whole. Only thus can the selfish and individualistic instincts be suppressed and the energy of mankind be diverted from mutual competition to co-operation for the common good. Religion as practised to-day is however, the greatest separatist force. It puts artificial barriers between man and man and prevents the development of healthy and co-operative national life. Not content with its reactionary influence on social matters, it has invaded the domain of politics and economics, and affects every aspect of our life. Its association with politics has been to the good of neither. Religion has been degraded and politics has sunk into the mire. Complete divorce of one from the other is the only remedy.

But this is not all. A strange fatality has been pursuing our political activities from a very early stage. We have never been entirely free from serious differences among those who have taken up the patriotic duty of liberating their country in right earnest and have not winced at any sacrifice in discharging it to the best of their ability. These differences have inevitably set back the hands of the clock and opened the door to disruptive forces. There have been serious splits among the leaders which have spread with lightning rapidity to the rank and file on almost every occasion when a forward move has been taken or even contemplated. We would do well to profit by the lesson of the past lest the inexorable fate which has been pursuing us for the last 20 years or more overtake us again. It is close upon our heels already in the garb of socialism and will devour both complete independence and dominion status if you let it approach nearer.

The brief outline I have given above will show that we stand at

represent in the thickest part of the wood. We suffer from two sets of serious disabilities—those imposed upon us by foreign rule and those of our own making. It is difficult to stand against the foreigner without offering him a united front. It is not easy to offer a united front while the foreigner is in our midst dominating over us.

THE TWO SETS OF DISABILITIES TOGETHER FROM A VICIOUS CIRCLE AROUND US AND WE STAND IN THE CENTRE, HEAVILY HANDICAPPED BY ONE IN TRYING TO GET RID OF THE OTHER. WE HAVE TO BREAK THROUGH THE VICIOUS CIRCLE BEFORE WE CAN HOPE TO BE OUT OF THE WOOD.

This is my answer to the question—where do we stand ?

The second question is what is our destination ?

My answer straight and simple is FREEDOM in substance and not merely in form, by whatever name you call it. The Madras Congress has declared the goal as complete independence. The All Parties Committee has recommended dominion status. I have explained my position more than once but with your permission I shall re-state it here as clearly as I can. To put it in a nutshell it comes to this : I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full Dominion Status—as full as any dominion possesses it to-day—provided I get it before it loses all attraction. I am for severance of British connection as it subsists with us to-day but am not against it as it exists with the dominions.

Let me explain. National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul. I do not believe that there is a single Indian, be he or she a member of a party or group, or one completely detached from all parties and groups, who does not love freedom or will not have it. Differences arise only when the question is raised whether it is possible to have and to keep freedom ; and it is then that we find opinion sharply divided. There are those who have the faith in them and in their countrymen to answer the question by an emphatic “yes”—and I may at once say that I am one of them. But there are also those who will shake their heads, some from conviction and others in doubt. Complete independence is the goal of the former, dominion status that of the latter. I will not undertake a

fruitless enquiry into the relation or want of relation between independence and dominion status. It does not matter to me whether theoretically they belong to the same or different stocks, or whether one is or is not the negation of the other. What matters to me is that dominion status involves a very considerable measure of freedom bordering on complete independence and is any day preferable to complete dependence. I am therefore not against an exchange of our abject dependence with whatever measure of freedom there is in full dominion status if such exchange is offered. But I cannot make dominion status my goal as it has to come from another party over whom I have no control. The only way I can acquire such control is by working in night earnest for complete independence. I say 'in night earnest' because I know mere bluff will not take me far; it is only when complete independence is in sight that the party in power will be inclined to negotiate for something less. Empty bluff will not carry us to that stage. Solid work and ungrudging sacrifice alone will do it. When that work is done, and sacrifice made, the party having the whip hand will dictate. Whether it is to be dominion status or complete independence will depend upon whether the conditions then prevailing are similar to those of Ireland or to those of the United States of America at the time when each came into what she now has. Meanwhile, there is nothing before us but a protracted life-and-death struggle on the one side, and continued repression received by an occasional dose of undiluted oppression on the other. It follows therefore that whatever the ultimate goal, we must be prepared, independence will ever be an idle dream and dominion status an ever receding will-o'-the-wisp.

I must here notice another part of the Viceroy's speech from which I have already quoted. He draws a dark picture of the damage that India is "likely to suffer at the hands of its false friends who would guide it towards the morass of independence." The description of 'independence' as a 'morass' is rather original. It would be more correct to say that we have to cross a morass before we arrive at independence. But the morass surrounds us on all sides and we can arrive nowhere except by crossing it. That being so our friends who support the movement say: why not make for

independence pure and unadulterated which depends upon your own effort, however long and arduous, instead of floundering in the direction of dominion status which depends upon the good will of Britain. They argue that it will be sheer waste of time, energy, and sacrifice first to struggle in the mass for dominion status and when you find your way barred then to bungle back to the starting point and plunge again into the same mass to struggle for independence. From Lord Irwin's point of view this argument is unanswerable. From my point of view dominion status is passed on the way to independence, and if it is refused you have simply to press on to your destination which must always be independence. Lord Irwin's argument based on loyalty to the Crown can easily be overstressed. Loyalty is a fine thing but the strain it can bear is not unlimited.

But it is obvious that independence does not mean walking out of the world. If you continue to live in it you must come across others who also live in the same world. It is neither necessary nor possible for the existence of an independent state in the present day world conditions to cut off all political, economic, and social relations with other states. Indeed the more independent you are the more necessary it will be to establish relations all round. When, therefore, we talk of the severance of the British connection we do not mean a cessation of all relations, but such appropriate change in existing relations as is necessary to transform a dependency into a free state. The extent of the change will depend upon the extent of freedom we achieve. If it is dominion status, the change, as it is now well understood, will be from a dependency to 'an autonomous nation, free and equal member of the British Commonwealth of nations.' If 'however, it is complete independence, India will stand out of the British Commonwealth of nations and the nature of her relations with Great Britain will be determined by treaty and mutual understanding. In either case some connection with other nations including the British must subsist if we mean to take an active part in shaping our own future and that of the world.

Mahatma Gandhi presiding at the Belgium Congress said :
 "Im my opinion, if the British Government mean what they say honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph

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than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of secession on the British people."

This was four years ago. Much water has since flown under the bridges. We have striven and striven hard for Swaraj within the Empire but the British people have not so far shown any inclination to help us honestly to equality. All the indications have been to the contrary. Indeed responsible British statesmen have repeatedly declared that full dominion status is yet a far cry. I therefore fully sympathise with those who have exhausted their patience and have raised the cry of complete secession. But let us fully grasp the meaning of Mahatma Gandhi. I am sure he never meant that the moment we felt sure that Britain was not going to give us dominion status we were to declare for independence irrespective of our own readiness to enforce it. He was, to my mind, referring to the time when we acquired what I have described as the whip hand. The Empire admittedly has not arrived.

In the same address Mahatmajī said :—

"The better mind of the world desires to-day not absolutely independent states warring one against another but a Federation of friendly interdependent states. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal inter-dependence rather than independence. It should rest with Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India."

And then comes the pregnant passage which I earnestly commend to your very serious consideration. It runs thus :—

"I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire would be that of an alliance and not of independence without alliance."

So far as Britain's formal declaration of her goal about India is concerned, it is complete equality within the empire. The scheme prepared by the All Parties Committee and adopted by the Conference is therefore in full accord with Mahatma's views.

The truth is that we cannot get anything from England except by improving our strength. The way to acquire that strength is to organise ourselves and our resources. Such organisation is as necessary for those who desire dominion status as it is for those who work for complete independence. That being so the obvious course is to work together up to the point the weakness of us is ready to go. If he is not disillusioned by the time we reach that point, let us leave him there and forego ahead.

I must here ease the minds of those who fear that the moment dominion status is granted to us, we shall use it to throw off British connection altogether. In the speech from which I have already quoted Lord Irwin said :

"Those in Great Britain who sympathise most warmly with the ideal of India attaining at the earliest possible moment the status of any of the other great dominions of the Crown, will find the ground cut from their feet if British opinion ever becomes convinced, as some apparently are now endeavouring to convince it, that so-called Dominion Status was only valued by India as a stepping stone to a complete severance of her connection with the British Commonwealth."

There is no foundation for this apprehension and there is no reason whatever why we should seek complete severance of British connection if we are put on terms of perfect equality with the Dominions. If we are not put on such terms it will not be dominion status ; we will not take a colourable imitation. It must therefore be clearly understood that dominion status has to be offered and accepted with all its implications, its rights and obligations, which both parties will be in honour bound to respect and uphold. But as Mahatmaji has put it, "we would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became necessary through Britain's own fault." It is conceivable that we may be driven to separation by the treatment accorded to us by Britain

self, and in that case we shall have precisely the same remedy as : dominions now have.

It will, I hope, now be clear why I say that I am for complete independence and at the same time not against dominion status, if later comes without avoidable delay. It is impossible to say which the parties will have the whip hand at the psychological moment. Great Britain has the whip hand to-day, and the psychological moment for her to offer, and for India to accept, full dominion status, has passed. If Great Britain will not avail herself of the opportunity India will have the whip hand to-morrow : and then will come the psychological moment, for her to wrest complete independence from Great Britain. No offer of dominion status will then be acceptable. Objection is taken to the preparation of any scheme of government dominion lines by us on the ground that it is for Britain and not India, to make the offer. It is pointed out that those who enjoy dominion status did not fight for it but achieved it in the course of their struggle for complete independence, the offer having come from Great Britain. I am quite clear in my own mind that substantially the same process will have to be repeated in India if we are ever to have dominion status, and as I have already pointed out, we cannot reasonably accept it unless complete independence is in sight. But I cannot understand why it is not open to us to offer terms to Great Britain, so much as it is open to her to offer terms to us. If the offer is honorable to those who make it as well as to those who accept it, it does not matter to me who is the proposer and who the acceptor. I do not believe that we have among the soldiers of independence a more fearless and selfless patriot and a greater fighter for the freedom of India than Desbandhu Chittaranjan Das was. Let me recall to your minds the great speech he delivered at Raddipore in which he said that all he needed was a full and fair opportunity for self-realisation, self-development and self-fulfilment. He did not hesitate to make an offer of co-operation to the bureaucracy if it would only afford that opportunity, show a real change of heart, and guarantee "Swamy in the full sense to come automatically in the near future." That offer was no sign of weakness. It was made in the full consciousness of strength. "If" he declared "our offer of settlement should not meet with

any response we must go on with our national work on the lines which we have pursued for the last two years so that it may become impossible for the Government to carry on the administration of the country except by the exercise of its exceptional powers.....and when the time comes we shall not hesitate to advise our countrymen not to pay taxes which are sought to be raised by the exercise of their exceptional powers."

"Those were the words of a statesman, a political philosopher and a determined fighter for liberty, a man who believed in the doctrine of self-reliance which he preached. It was not beneath his dignity to offer a settlement while he was preparing for a great fight. As a matter of fact, Britain has already made an offer of a kind in the most solemn manner she could, by embodying it in the preamble of the Government of India Act. It is true that this offer is utterly inadequate and wholly unacceptable. The proper course is to make a counter offer. This is what the All Parties Committee has done.

A good deal has been said about developing sanctions. On this point I am content to quote Mahatma Gandhi. Commenting on the All Parties Committee's Report he said in Young India :

"There is still much diplomatic work to be done. But more than the diplomatic work is that of forging the sanction. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru truly observed that whether it was Dominion Status or Independence, a proper sanction would be necessary if the national demand was to be enforced. Bardoli has shown the way, if the sanction has to be non-violent. The Congress creed has non-violence as its integral part. There is no denying the fact that non-violence had receded in the back ground before Bardoli. But even as the Nehru report has made an unanimous demand possible, Bardoli has brought back the vanishing faith in non-violence. If, then, we are sure of the sanction, we need not worry whether Swaraj is otherwise spelt Dominion Status or Independence. Dominion Status can easily become more than Independence, if we have sanction to back it. Independence can easily become a farce if it lacks sanction. What is in a name if we have the reality? A rose smells just as sweet whether you know it by that name or any other. Let us therefore make up our minds as to whether it is to be non-violence and let

ink and file work for the sanction in real earnest even as the
mats must work at constitution making."

have now given my answer to the second question I formulated.
our destination is Freedom, the form and extent of which will
depend upon the time when, and the circumstances under which,

meanwhile there is nothing for us but to do the work necessary
in all forms and all degrees of freedom. That work is one and the
same and I now proceed to consider it.

It must be remembered that the same Congress which declared
complete independence as our goal, by another resolution invited all
to confer with its Working Committee to devise a constitution
based on common agreement. It was then as obvious as
now that no party outside the Congress was prepared to set its
face as high as complete independence from the point of view of its
conception of practical politics. The Congress must therefore be
free to have embarked upon the enquiry with full knowledge of
fact. What then was the object of directing the Working
Committee to call an All Parties Conference or Convention if com-
plete independence was not for the mere fun of it. The importance
of the Convention and the political value of its agreed conclusions
were quite obvious and must have been so to the Congress when it
passed the resolution. But the Congress could not, at the time, have
a clear conception as to what the next step would be after the
Parties Convention came to decisions. That would depend upon
the extent of agreement reached and the nature of the decisions
reached at which could not then be known.

The Working Committee has faithfully carried out the instructions
of the Madras Congress and called the All Parties Conferences. The
marked success of these national gatherings, in their endeavour to
find the highest common basis for a constitution for India, is well-
known. Never before, in the history of our public movements, so
many organisations—political, labour, religious, communal, and
commercial—as took part in these gatherings have come together on
and the same platform. There can be no doubt that the credit

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of this great achievement—perhaps the greatest since the day Non-co-operation—belongs to the Congress which conceived the idea, and more especially to Dr. Ansari, the President of the Congress who never spared himself in carrying it out. The resolution of the National Convention will come up before you in the course of this session. You will have all the materials before you and will be your solemn duty to discharge the obligation inherited from the Madras Congress to determine the next step. You have succeeded to the great asset left by the Congress—the goal of complete independence. You cannot shirk its liability. The future will depend largely on the manner in which you discharge that liability. The recommendations of the main and the supplementary Reports of the Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference are all based on the principle of the highest common agreement. That principle I earnestly commended to this Congress for its acceptance. The Congress is in itself an All Parties Conference and is its duty to deal with every question coming before it from that point of view of the greatest good of all the parties and the people of India. So far the Congress has been discharging this duty on its own initiative, taking upon itself the responsibility of determining what is good for the people and regulating its policy accordingly. This is the first time in the history of the Congress that it invited the people of India through the various organisations representing them, to determine for themselves what is good for them. I am doing so the Congress has acted on the principle of self-determination. Those invited have accepted the invitation of the Congress as they never did before—no, not even in the palmy days of Non-co-operation—when, with all the millions behind it, the Congress was not supported by many well-known organisations. There is not one organisation—political, social, religious, commercial, industrial or labour—of any note or standing to-day which did not take part in the All Parties Conferences and the National Convention or which, having so taken part, has not given up much that it valued for the sake of unity. It is an achievement of which and country in the world might well be proud. That achievement will now be presented to you. Will you accept it or spurn it? If you

any faith in your claim for self-determination, you have no

only question is, the scheme that

be treated as self-determined. I say there is. The only

ponents are a few communalists. As regards them, I must say,

likely that I do not understand them and am unable to reconcile

claim for special communal advantages with their desire for

plete independence. Some of these would reserve to a handful

right to arrest the whole course of the country's legislation.

ers are prepared to go back even on joint electorates if a few

national seats are not given to them in the legislatures. Their dis-

with a scheme of dominion status can hardly be taken seriously.

have commented adversely on the speech of the Viceroy de-

ed in this city recently, but I think I owe it to His Excellency

express my appreciation of another part of the same speech

ch is germane to the point I am discussing. He said :

There is no use pretending that the different classes, the diffe-

communities, the different races in India will not have different

wards, but in such disagreement there is nothing unhealthy or

natural. If interests clash it does not mean that one set of

rests is to be swept away or that one community need smother

individuality to suit the whole. Each has its own good qualities,

own ideals to pursue, its own rights to maintain but each should

capable of self-realisation in its own sphere and at the same

taking its own place in the whole scheme of National life."

I heartily endorse this sentiment but am not quite sure that

Excellency and I are not at cross purposes. I claim that the

port of the All Parties Committee allows ample scope to every

community to pursue its own ideals and affords it ample opportunity

"self-realisation in its own sphere" and at the same time gives

each "its own place in the whole scheme of national life." I

e however a shrewd suspicion that Lord Irwin does not mean

same thing. But let me proceed.

Apart from the principle of self-determination the only other

tion by which you can judge the All Parties scheme is real and

ing good of the country. Spurn it, by all means, if you honestly

think that it is not for the real and lasting good of the country and only offers a temporary advantage, at the sacrifice of the ultimate goal. But do not spurn it, merely, because it conflicts with theories and dogmas which have no relation to the living facts of the situation. Neither the authors of the recommendations, nor the Conferences which have adopted them, have put them forward as a counsel of perfection. Speaking for myself and my colleagues on the Committee, I can say that there is no one of us who, left to himself, would have produced the identical report which acting together we have considered it our duty to make. There are points on which our recommendations run counter to the settled convictions of every one of us, as for instance reservation of seats for minorities. We were, however, compelled to recommend such reservation by the exigencies of the situation.

The one question, therefore that this Congress has to answer is whether these recommendations and resolutions, taken as a whole, are so utterly outrageous, so thoroughly inconsistent, with the real and lasting good of the country, that it is its duty to reject them, in spite of the consensus of opinion in the country behind them. If they are not, this Congress has no option but to accept them.

It will be observed that the recommendations are divisible under two main heads—general and communal. Both are so inter-related that you cannot accept the one and reject the other. We cannot overlook the Lucknow resolution, whereby all parties agreed that every one of them will stand by it (the Report) as a whole and will refuse to accept any single part of it without giving full force and effect to all other parts." There are communal and politico-communal organisations which favour dominion status and have, not only joined the communal agreements as parties, but given up what they considered substantial rights for the sake of an agreed constitution. Many hundreds of public meetings have been held throughout the country, attended by people of all shades of opinion, which have approved of the recommendations as a whole. It is impossible to say now many accepted the communal solution because of the draft constitution for dominion status, and how many accepted the latter because of the former. We have to keep our faith with all. The

course suggested is therefore not open to the Congress. It has either to accept both, the communal solution and the dominion status, recommended by the Conferences, without prejudice to its goal of complete independence, or to scrap the whole scheme.

The position, as I view it, is this. Here is a constitution agreed upon by the various parties, invited by the Congress to frame it. These parties know that the goal of the Congress is complete independence. They do not ask the Congress to change its goal, but present to it the result of their labours such as it is, and say that they are prepared to go thus far and no further at present. They offer their co-operation and demand that of the Congress, to enable both to reach the point up to which they are prepared to go. After that point is reached they reserve liberty to themselves and to the Congress to consider the next step. Is the Congress going to refuse them this co-operation and this liberty? Is the Congress after bringing them together going to send them back to the wilderness in isolated groups, each to shift for itself, and leave the Congress to wrangle over the respective merits of complete independence and dominion status to the end of time? If the Congress will do that, it will abdicate its proper function to guide the nation on its forward march. The occasion calls for skilful generalship, and not academic discussions which take us nowhere. The nation is knocking at your door. You must open it wide—wide enough for every one to enter, or lose your rightful place of high command. My advice to you is to accept the offer. If you do so the way to your destination is clear. Begin at the point at which the All Parties conference have now arrived and push forward with them as far as they would go, then pause and take stock of your equipment, and finally throw the strength of your whole being into one great effort to reach the goal. That is my answer to the question: how can we reach our destination?

The first, and the most obvious step is to set our own house in order. For this purpose, rally all the parties under the banner of the Congress and prepare to march shoulder to shoulder with them to the farthest end of the common road. That will be the first part of the arduous journey. I suggest the following programme for it:

Populating the communal solution, agreed to at the All Parties Conference, in the country, by intensive propaganda in the press and on platform and organising village to village lectures.

Organising similar propaganda in regard to the resolutions of the Delhi Unity Conference and the Madras Congress, with such improvements as this Congress might make on communal matters, other than those dealt with by the Conferences.

Work among the untouchables and depressed classes.

Organisation of labour, agricultural and industrial.

Other village organisation.

Popularising khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth.

Campaign against social customs which retard social intercourse and national growth, more especially crusade against the Purdah and the other disabilities of women.

Intensive campaign against the drink and opium curse.

Publicity.

It will be observed that is a predominantly social programme. It aims no originality for any of its items and have merely selected out of a long list which, with the exception of the first item, have been before the Congress and the country for years past. I may, however, be pardon when I say that we have so far not done much in speaking in carrying out the constructive work. Common- sense as this programme may appear, it is the only true foundation which the hopes of the high priests of complete independence as those of the votaries of dominion status, can be safely built. The former I say, that the measure of their capacity, for the tremendous sacrifice that the first real step towards their goal will be the measure of their success in carrying out this ungloriously unpretentious programme. To the latter I say, that the chance there is of dominion status being ever offered to them in the complete fulfilment of this very programme.

large sums of money and organised work throughout the country. It is necessary if we are to set about the business in right earnest. It is not merely the business of any particular organisation or individual, but of all organisations and all individuals in the country who, at the least desire to attain any measure of freedom. Among those who took part in the Convention there were the representatives of

all interests in the country—there were the wealthy, the well-to-do, and the poor. Let the wealthy give of their abundance the well-to-do of their savings, and the poor of their pittance. Let the Indian Princes, great and small, come forward with munificent donations, and give practical proof of the great solicitude they profess for the general well being of their country. In the social part of the programme all can join including Government servants. But will the Government let them? This is the acid test of the honesty of the pious intentions and wishes expressed by British statesmen in England and India. Let the Government, if it honestly means what it professes, publicly declare that the Indian Princes, the Indian commercial and industrial magnates, the great Zamindars, and Government servants, have full liberty to help the social work in every way possible. Let there be no secret instructions to the contrary in sealed covers or in cipher, circulate at the same time. Let the English Banks undertake that they will not turn away Indian commercial and industrial concerns from their door if they subscribe to this fund. Let these three things be done, and I shall see that enough money is forthcoming within a very short time for the full fruition of this programme.

But we Congressmen need not depend upon the pious wishes and intentions of the British bureaucracy and those who are interested in maintaining it in power. The real work has to be done by Congressmen with the help of the progressive parties to the country. I shall now examine the various items of the programme in relation to Congressmen.

Items 1 and 2 need no explanation. It will be observed that I have confined these items to the communal part of the recommendations as to which there is, and should be, no difference of opinion among us. The vital importance of the work is obvious.

As to untouchability, a great deal has been said but very little work has been done. It should, in my opinion, be the duty of every Congressman to help actively in this work to the best of his ability. Untouchability must be abolished altogether, so far as Congressmen are concerned, and no person who refuses to associate with untouchables as his equals should be permitted to belong to any Congress

organisation. The All India Spinners Association is doing good work in both directions but it needs further support and its work should be supplemented by lectures on sanitation and formation of village and circle committees to promote co-operation among the villages.

No. 6 is the special province of the women of India and I call upon them to offer their services to the Congress.

The campaign against social customs which retard social intercourse and national growth is essential for the success of any programme but we have so far paid the least attention to it. The purdah and the other disabilities of women are a curse we should wipe out without delay. If woman is the better half of man, let us then assist them to do the better part of the work of national uplift. To get rid of Purdah and to reorganise domestic life, on money is wanted. Every individual can and should do his bit.

It is impossible to enter into further details in the course of the address and I would suggest that the All India Congress Committee empowered to divide itself into a number of sub-committees, each to be presided over by a member of the Working Committee, and to be in charge of one or more of the above items. The actual work will be done by similar sub-committees of the Provincial Committees who will look for instructions to the sub-committee of the All India Congress Committee in charge. All other details will be left to the working Committee.

This is the general programme for all parties to carry out. It is as necessary from their point of view as that of the Congress, and I have reason to believe that they will give their full support. If we all do this work honestly and intensively the goal should be within sight. But if we are unable to work out this programme to the full measure expected, whether we retain the support of the other parties or not, for Congressmen non-violent non-cooperation is an obligation they dare not shirk unless there is a better aggressive programme before the Congress. Sirdar Vallabhai Patel at Bardoli have shown us that absolutely peaceful direct action is possible and can be made successful. He has shown what patient work among villagers can do. In your name, I tender my congratulations to the Sirdar and his brave comrades—men as well as women.

We may not forget our countrymen overseas. Though the great work done by Mr. V. S. Sastri has eased the situation to a certain extent in South Africa the position requires considerable watching. The problem in Kenya is growing more and more serious and threatens the very existence of the Indian settlers there who, by the way, went there long before any European and enjoyed the happiest relations with the Africans. In Fiji and British Guiana too the pressure of British exploitation is telling upon our countrymen who have gone there, as much as upon the natives of the soil. But without forgetting them, the best aid we can render them is in the words of Sir Pherozsha Mehta, to gain our freedom here.

I have only dealt with what I consider to be the real crux of the present situation and in doing so I have tried to discharge what I conceive to be my duty to the country at this juncture. My views may not be acceptable to all, specially to the younger men. I quite appreciate their impatience. We need both patience and impatience. Patience with those who differ from us, impatience with ourselves. I have no quarrel with the ideals of the younger men nor with the practical work they have laid out for themselves. I hold with them that all exploitation must cease and all imperialism must go. But the way to do it is a long and dreary one. They know it and have themselves pointed it out. The work before the young and the old is one and the same. Only the mentality is different. Let the younger men by all means preserve their own mentality, but let them not, for the sake of the very motherland they seek to serve, divide the country into more factions and parties than there are already. To the older men I repeat the same advice. Let them both remember the words of wisdom uttered by Mahatma Gandhi and Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das I have quoted above. The masses want bread. They have no time to make experiments and no use for theories and dogmas imported from abroad.

I have done. You have been patient with me. My humble services for what they are worth are at your disposal. Let us sink our differences. Let us march forward shoulder to shoulder and victory is ours.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

APPENDIX B.

As drafted in the Nehru Report.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS

(as amended)

Constitutional Status in India

1. India shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations, known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that Parliament; and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India.

Operation of the constitution and laws

2. This Act and all laws made by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, thereunder shall be binding on the courts and people of every province, and of every part of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding anything in the laws of the Indian Legislature or of any province or in any Act of the United Kingdom extending to British India; and the laws of the Commonwealth shall be enforced in all Indian territorial waters.

Definition of citizen

3. The word "citizen" wherever it occurs in this constitution means every person (a) who was born, or whose father was either born or naturalised, within the territorial limits of the Commonwealth and has not been naturalised as a citizen of any other country;

- (b) *who being a subject of an Indian State ordinarily carries on business or resides in the territories of the Commonwealth ;*
- (c) *or who, being a subject of the Crown carries on business or resides in the territories of the Commonwealth ;*
- (d) *who is naturalised in the Commonwealth under the law in force for the time being.*
- Explanation.*—No person who is a citizen of a foreign country can be a citizen of the Commonwealth unless he renounces the citizenship of such foreign country in the manner prescribed by law.

Fundamental Rights

4. (i) All powers of government and all authority, legislative executive and judicial, are derived from the people and the same shall be exercised in the commonwealth of India through the organisations established by or under, and in due process of this constitution.
- (ii) No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law. *All titles to private and personal property lawfully acquired and enjoyed at the establishment of the Commonwealth are hereby guaranteed.*
- (iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order or morality, hereby guaranteed to every person.
- (iv) The right of free expression of opinion, as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions, is hereby guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality.
- (v) All citizens in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education without any distinction of caste or creed in the matter of admission into any educational institutions, maintained or aided by the State, and such right shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by competent authority. *Provided that adequate provision shall be made by the State for imparting public instruction in primary schools to the children of members*

of considerable strength in the population
medium of their own language and in such
as among them.

provision will not prevent the State from
the language of the commonwealth obligatory

equal before the law and possess equal civic

no penal law whether substantive or pro-
criminal nature.

shall be punished for any act which was not
for the law at the time it was committed.

punishment or other punishment involving
and shall be lawful.

shall have the right to a writ of *habeas corpus*.
be suspended in case of war rebellion by an

trial legislature, or, if the legislature is not in
Governor-General-in-Council, and in such

support the suspension to the legislature, at the
opportunity for such action as it may deem fit.

no state religion for the Commonwealth of
any province in the Commonwealth, nor shall

directly or indirectly endow any religion or
ference or impose any disability on account of

religious status.
including any school receiving state aid or other

shall be compelled to attend the religious
may be given in the school.

all by reason of his religion, caste or creed be
any way in regard to public employment, office

our and the exercise of any trade or calling.
have an equal right of access to, and use of,

public wells and all other places of public

(xv) Freedom of combination and association for the maintenance and improvement of labour and economic conditions is guaranteed to everyone and of all occupations. All agreements and measures tending to restrict or obstruct such freedoms are illegal.

(xvi) No breach of contract of service or abetment thereof shall be made a criminal offence.

(xvii) Parliament shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing of a living wage for every worker, the protection of motherhood, welfare of children, and the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment and Parliament shall also make laws to ensure fair rent and fixity and permanence of tenure to agricultural tenants.

(xviii) Every citizen shall have the right to keep and bear arms in accordance with a regulations made in that behalf.

(xix) Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens.

Note: Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in article (iv) the Sikhs are entitled to carry kirpans.

Language.

A. (1) The language of the Commonwealth shall be Hindustani which may be written either in Nagri or in Urdu character. The use of the English language shall be permitted.

(2) In provinces, the principal language of a province shall be the official language of that province. The use of Hindustani and English shall be permitted.

Parliament.

1. The legislative power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in Parliament which shall consist of the king, a Senate and a House of Representatives herein called the Parliament.

2. The Governor-General shall be appointed by the king and have, and may exercise in the Commonwealth, during the

subject to this constitution, such powers and as His Majesty may assign to him.

shall be payable to the King out of the revenues salary of the Governor-General an annual sum until the Parliament of the Commonwealth des, shall be as in the schedule hereof provided. Governor-General shall not be altered during in office.

shall consist of 200 members to be elected by the a specific number of seats being allotted to each of population, subject to a minimum. The by the method of proportional representation terable vote. (The Hare system.)

Representatives shall consist of 500 members constituencies determined by law. Every person of attained the age of 21, and is not disqualified by to vote.

Parliament shall have the power to increase the from time to time if necessary.

House of Representatives shall continue for five meeting and every Senate shall continue for seven

order of the legislature may be sooner dissolved Governor-General; and

period may be extended by the Governor-General circumstances he so thinks fit; and

dissolution of either chamber the Governor- will appoint a date not more than six months late of dissolution for the next session of that

of the Parliament shall be held at least once

- (3) The Governor-General may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of either chamber of the Indian Legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.
- (4) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian Legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.
- (5) All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present, other than the presiding member who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.
- (6) The powers of either chamber of the Indian Legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.
11. There shall be a president of each House of Parliament who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House There shall also be a deputy president of each House who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.
12. The privilege, immunities and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Representatives and by the members thereof respectively shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of Parliament of the Commonwealth.
13. Parliament shall, subject to and under the provisions of this Constitution, have power to make laws.
- (a) for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth in relation to all matters not coming in the classes of subjects by this Act assigned to the legislatures of provinces;
- (b) for the nationals and servants of the Commonwealth within other parts of India as well as those without and beyond India;
- (c) for the government officers, soldiers, airmen and followers in His Majesty's Indian forces, wherever they are serving, in so far as they are not subject to the Army Act or the Air Force Act, and

(d) for all persons employed or serving in or belonging to the Royal Indian Marine Service or the Indian Navy.

For greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section, it is hereby declared that notwithstanding anything in this Act the legislative authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects herein after enumerated and specified in Schedule I attached hereto.

13. A (a) In cases of great emergency and in matters of controversy between provinces or a province and an Indian State the Central Government and the Parliament have all the powers necessary and ancillary including the power to suspend or annul the acts, executive and legislative, of a Provincial Government.

(b) The Supreme Court shall have no jurisdiction in cases where the Commonwealth Government or Parliament has acted in exercise of the powers under the preceding sub-clause.

14. The power of Parliament with respect to foreign affairs, not including the Indian States, shall be the same as exercised by the self-governing dominions.

15. Provision may be made by rules under this Act for regulating the course of business and the preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian Legislature, and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the House of Representatives in the absence of the president and the deputy president; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum, and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on, and the discussions of, any subject specified in the rules.

16. (x) Any bill which appropriates revenue or monies for the ordinary annual services of the Commonwealth government shall deal only with such appropriations.

(ii) Bill imposing taxation shall deal only with the imposition of taxes, and any provision therein dealing with any other matter shall be of no effect.

(iii) Bills affecting the public debt or for the appropriation of revenues or monies or for imposing taxation shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council and can only originate in the House of Representatives.

17. A money bill means a bill which contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; the imposition, for the payment of debt or other financial purposes, of charges on public revenues or monies, or the variation or repeal of any such charges; the supply, appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising of any loan or the repayment thereof; or subordinate matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. In this definition the expression "taxation," "public money" and "loan" respectively do not include any taxation, money or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

18. The question whether a bill is or is not a money bill will be decided by the president of the House of Representatives.

19. A money bill passed by the House of Representatives shall be sent to the Senate for its recommendations and it shall be returned not later than.....days therefrom to the House of Representatives, which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of the Senate; and the bill so passed shall be deemed to have been passed by both chambers.

20. (i) Subject to the provisions of this Act, a bill may be initiated in either House of Parliament and, if passed by the originating House, shall be introduced in the other House for being passed.

(ii) Except as otherwise provided under this Act, a bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by Parliament unless it has been agreed to by both Houses, either without amendments or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both Houses.

(iii) If any bill which has been passed by the House of Representatives is not, within six months after the passage of the bill by that House, passed by the Senate, either

without amendments or with such amendments as may be agreed to by both Houses, the Governor-General shall on resolution passed by either House to that effect, refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both Houses. The members present at any such joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the bill as last proposed by the House of Representatives and upon amendments, if any, which have been made therein by one House of Parliament and not agreed to by the other; and any such amendments which are affirmed by a majority of the total number of members of the Senate and the House of Representatives present at such sitting, shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

21. (2) So soon as any bill shall have been duly passed, or deemed to have been passed by both Houses, it shall be presented to the Governor-General for the signature by him, in the King's name, of the King's assent, and the Governor-General may signify such assent or withhold the same or he may reserve the bill for the signature of the King's pleasure.

(3) A bill passed by both Houses of Parliament shall not become an Act until the Governor-General signifies his assent thereto in the King's name, or in the case of a bill reserved for the signature of the King's pleasure, until he signifies by speech or message to each House of Parliament, or by proclamation that it has received the assent of the King in Council.

Provided that the Governor-General may, where a bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament and presented to him for the signature by him of the King's assent, or has been reserved by him for the signature of the King's pleasure, return the bill for reconsideration by Parliament with a recommendation that Parliament shall consider amendments thereto.

(iii) Any bill so returned shall be further considered by Parliament together with the amendments, recommended by the Governor-General, and if re-affirmed with or without amendments, may be again presented to the Governor-General for the signature in the King's name of the King's assent.

The Commonwealth Executive

22. The executive power of the Commonwealth is vested in the King and is exercisable by the Governor-General as the King's representative, acting on the advice of the Executive Council subject to the provisions of this Act and of the laws of the Commonwealth.

23. (a) There shall be an Executive Council consisting of the Prime Minister and, until Parliament otherwise provides, not more than six ministers of the Commonwealth.

(b) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General and the ministers shall also be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(c) The Executive Council shall be collectively responsible to the House of Representatives for all matters concerning the department of the Commonwealth administered by members of the Executive Council and generally for all advice tendered by it to the Governor-General.

24. Until Parliament otherwise provides, the appointment and removal of all other officers of the executive Government of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, unless the appointment is delegated by the Governor-General-in-Council, or by a law of the Commonwealth, to some other authority.

25. The Command-in-Chief of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth is vested in the Governor-General as the King's representative.

High Commissioner and Foreign Representatives

26. The Commonwealth shall have the power to appoint High Commissioners and other foreign representatives similar to that exercised by Canada and other dominions. Such appointments shall

THE NEHRU CONSTITUTION

be made by the Governor-General in Council who shall also make provision by rules for their pay, powers and duties, and the conditions of employment.

Financial control

27. (1) The Auditor-General in India shall be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council who shall by rules make provision for his pay, powers and duties, and the conditions of employment, and for the discharge of his duties in the case of a temporary vacancy of absence from duty.

(2) Subject to any rules made by the Governor-General-in-Council, no office may be added to or withdrawn from the public service and the emoluments of no posts may be varied except after consultation with such financial authority as may be designated in the rules, being a authority of the province or of the Commonwealth according as it is or is not under the control of a local government.

The Provincial Legislature

28. The legislative power of a province shall be vested in the King and the local Legislative Council.

29. There shall be a Governor of every province who shall be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council.

30. The salaries of the Governors shall be fixed and provided by Parliament, and until so provided, shall be as in schedule.....

31. (i) There shall be one member of the Provincial Legislative Council for every 100,000 of the population of the said province provided that in provinces with a population of less than ten millions there may be a maximum of 10 members.

(ii) Every member shall be elected by a constituency determined by law. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21 and is not disqualified by law shall be entitled to vote

32. (i) Every Provincial Council shall continue for 5 years from its first sitting provided that—

- (a) it may be sooner dissolved by the Governor ;
- (b) the term of 5 years may be extended by the Governor if in special circumstances he so thinks fit ;

(c) after the dissolution of the Council the Governor shall appoint a date not more than 6 months after the date of the dissolution, for the next session of the Council.

(ii) The Governor may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of the Council as he thinks fit and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.

(iii) Any meeting of the Council may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(iv) All questions in the Council shall be determined by the majority of votes of the members present, other than the presiding member, who shall however have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(v) The powers of the Council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy.

(vi) *A session of the Council is held at least once a year.*

33. There shall be a president of every Council who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House. There shall also be a deputy president who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.

34. The local legislature of any province has power, subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being constituting that province. The legislative authority of every provincial council extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated and specified in Schedule II, attached hereto.

35. The local legislature of any province may repeal or alter, as to that province, any law relating to a provincial subject made before the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India.

46. There shall be a Supreme Court which shall exercise such jurisdiction as Parliament shall determine. The Supreme Court shall

The Judiciary

45. In appointing the executive Council the Governor shall select the Chief Minister and appoint others only on the advice.

44. There shall be an Executive Council for every province consisting of not more than five ministers appointed by the Governor.

43. The executive power of the province shall be vested in the Governor acting on the advice of the provincial Executive Council.

The Provincial Executive.

42. Where the disallowance of an Act has been so signified, the Governor shall forthwith notify the disallowance, and thereupon the Act, as from the date of the notification shall become void accordingly.

41. When an act has been assented to by the Governor-General it shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council to signify his disallowance of the Act.

40. Where the Governor-General withholds his assent to such Act, he shall signify to the Governor in writing his reason for so withholding his assent.

39. If the Governor assents to any such bill, he shall forthwith send an authentic copy of the Act to the Governor-General, and the Act shall not have validity until the Governor-General has assented thereto and that assent has been signified by the Governor-General to, and published by the Governor.

38. If the Governor withholds his assent from any such bill, the bill shall not become an Act.

37. When a bill has been passed by a local Legislative Council, the Governor may declare that he assents to or withholds his assent from the bill.

36. Any measure affecting the public revenues of a province, or imposing any charge on the revenue, shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council of the Governor.

consist of a Lord President, and as may other Justices, as Parliament may fix.

47. The Lord President of the Commonwealth and all other Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth to be appointed after the establishment of the Commonwealth shall be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council, and shall receive such remuneration as Parliament shall prescribe, and their remuneration shall not be altered during their continuance in office.

48. The Lord President of the Commonwealth and other Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth shall not be removed from office except by the Governor-General-in-Council on an address from both Houses of Parliament in the same sessions praying for such removal on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity.

49. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all matters—

- (f) referred to the Supreme Court by the Governor-General-in-Council under section 85;
- (g) in which the Commonwealth, or person suing or being sued on behalf of the Commonwealth, is a party;
- (h) affecting consuls or other representatives of other countries;
- (i) between provinces;
- (j) arising under this Constitution or involving its interpretation.

50. The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction, with such exceptions and subject to such regulations as Parliament prescribes, to hear and determine appeals from all judgments, decrees, orders and sentences—

- (a) of any Justice or Justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court;
- (b) of the high court, or of any other court from which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies to the King in Council.

51. The judgment of the Supreme Court in all such cases shall be final and conclusive and shall not be reviewed, or be capable of being reviewed by any other court, tribunal or authority whatsoever.

(ii) the maximum number of judges of a high court including the chief justice and additional judges shall be 20.

(i) The Governor-General-in-Council may appoint persons to act as additional judges of any high court, for such period, not exceeding two years, as may be required and the judges so appointed shall, while so acting, have all the powers of a judge of the high court appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council ;

54. Each high court shall consist of a chief justice and as many other judges as the Governor-General-in-Council may think fit to appoint. Provided as follows :

53. The high courts referred to in this Act are the high courts of judicature for the time being established in British India.

High Courts - Constitution

(iii) Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in which such leave may be asked, provided that such laws do not impair any right which the King may be pleased to exercise by virtue of his royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal from the Supreme Court to the King in Council.

(ii) The Supreme Court may so certify if satisfied that for any special reason the certificates should be granted, and thereafter an appeal shall lie to the King in Council on the question without further leave.

52. (i) No appeal shall be permitted to the King in Council from a decision of the Supreme Court upon any question howsoever arising, as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any province or provinces, or as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of any two or more provinces, unless the Supreme Court shall certify that the question is one which ought to be determined by the King in Council.

Appeals to the King in Council

55. A judge of a high court must be an advocate on the rolls of a high court of not less than ten years' standing, provided that nothing herein contained shall affect the continuance of the tenure of office of the judges who may be holding appointments at the commencement of this Act.

56. (2) Every judge of a high court shall hold office during his good behaviour.

(1) Any such judge may resign his office to the local government.

57. The chief justice and other judges of the high court shall not be removed from office except by the Governor-General-in-Council on an address from both the Houses of Parliament in the same session, praying for such removal on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity.

58. (1) The Governor-General-in-Council may fix the salaries, allowances, furloughs and retiring pensions, and may alter them, but any such alteration shall not effect the salary of any judge appointed before the date thereof.

(2) The remuneration fixed for a judge under this section shall commence upon his taking upon himself the execution of his office.

59. (1) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of chief justice of a high court, and during any absence of such a chief justice, the local Government shall appoint one of the other judges of the same high court to perform the duties of chief justice of the court, and has entered on the discharge of his duties of that office, or until the chief justice has returned from his absence, as the case requires.

(2) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of any other judge of a high-court, and during any absence of any such judge, or on the appointment of any such judge to act as chief justice, the local Government may appoint a person with such qualifications as are required in persons to be appointed to the high court; and the person so appointed

may sit and perform the duties of a judge of the court, until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council to the office of judge of the court and has entered on the discharge of the duties of the office, or until the absent judge has returned from his absence, or until the local government sees cause to cancel the appointment of the acting judge.

o. (i) The several high courts are courts of record and have such jurisdiction, original and appellate, including admiralty jurisdiction in respect of offences committed on the high seas, and all such powers and authority over or in relation to the administration of justice, including power to appoint clerk and other ministerial officers of the court, and power to make rules for regulating the practice of the court, as are vested in them by letters patent, and subject to the provisions of any such letters patent, all such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are powers vested in those courts respectively commencement of this Act.

(ii) The letters patent establishing, or vesting jurisdiction, power, or authority, in a high court may be amended from time to time by a further letters patent.

61. Each of the high courts has superintendence over all courts for the time being subject to its appellate jurisdiction, and may do any of the following things, that is to say—

- (a) call for returns ;
- (b) direct the transfer of any suit or appeal from any such court to any other court of equal or superior jurisdiction ;
- (c) make and issue general rules and prescribe forms for regulating the practice and proceedings of such courts ;
- (d) prescribe forms in which books, entries and accounts shall be kept by the officers of any such courts ; and
- (e) settle tables of fees to be allowed to the sheriff, attorneys, and all clerks and officers of courts ;

Provided that such rules, forms and tables shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of any law for the time being in force, and shall require the previous approval of the local government.

62. (i) Each high court may by its own rules, provide as it thinks fit for the exercise, by one or more judges of the high court, of the original and appellate jurisdiction vested in the court.

The chief justice of each high court shall determine what judges in each case is to sit alone, and what judges of the court, whether with or without the chief judge, are to constitute the several division courts.

63. The Governor-General-in-Council may, by order, transfer any territory or place from the jurisdiction of one to the jurisdiction of any other of the high courts, and authorise any high court to exercise all or any portion of its jurisdiction in any part of British India not included within the limits for which the high court was established, and also to exercise any such jurisdiction in respect of any British subject for the time being within any part of India outside the Commonwealth.

64. (a) The Governor-General, each Governor each of the members of the Executive Council, whether in the Commonwealth or in the provinces, shall not be subject to the original, appellate or revisional jurisdiction of any high court, by reason of anything counselled, ordered or done by any of them, in his public capacity only.

(b) The exemption shall extend also to the chief justices and other judges of the several high courts.

65. The Governor-General-in-Council may, if he sees fit, by letters patent, establish a high court of judicature in any territory in the Commonwealth, whether or not included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another high court, and confer on any high court so established, any such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are vested in, or may be conferred on, any high court existing at the commencement of this Act; and, where a high court is so established in any area included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another high court, the Governor-General may, by letters patent, alter

those limits, and make such incidental, consequential and supplemental provisions as may appear to be necessary by reason of the alteration.

Advocate General

66. The local government may appoint an advocate general for each of the provinces and may on the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of advocate general, or during any absence or deputation of an advocate general, appoint a person to act as advocate general; and the person so appointed may exercise the powers of an advocate general until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council and has entered on the discharge of his duties or until the advocate general has returned from his absence or deputation, as the case may be, or until the local government cancels the local appointment.

Property, Revenue and Finance

67. All property vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in, His Majesty or the Secretary of State in Council under the Government of India Acts, 1858, 1915 and 1919 shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council.

68. The revenues of India shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council and shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be applied for the purposes of the Commonwealth alone.

69. The expression "the revenues of India" in this Act shall include all the territorial and other revenue of or arising in British India, and in particular,—

(i) all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the East India Company if the Government of India Act, 1858, had not been passed; and

(ii) all fines and penalties incurred by the sentence or order of any court of justice in British India, and all forfeitures for crimes of any movable or immovable property in British India; and

(iii) all movable or immovable property in British India escheating or lapsing for want of an heir or successor and

all property in British India devolving as *bona vacantia* for want of a rightful owner.

70. Parliament shall establish a Railway and Harbour Fund into which shall be paid all revenues raised or received by the Governor-General-in-Council from the administration of railways, post and harbours, and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament to the purpose of railways, posts and harbours, on such conditions and in such manner as it may prescribe. There shall also be formed a consolidated revenue fund into which shall be paid all other revenues raised or received by the Governor-General-in-Council and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament for the purpose of the Commonwealth in the manner prescribed by this Act or by rules made in that behalf and subject to the charges imposed thereby.

71. These shall be charged on the revenues of India alone—

(a) all the debts of the East India Company; and

(b) all sums of money, costs, charges and expenses which, if the Government of India Act, 1858, the Government of India Act 1915, as amended by the Government of India Act, 1919 or this Act had not been passed, would have been paid by the East India Company out of the revenues of India in respect of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants or liabilities existing at the commencement of this Act; and

(c) all expenses, debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the Government of India; and

(d) all other charges and payments under this Act (except so far as is otherwise provided under this Act).

72. (i) As soon as may be after the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Commission consisting of one representative from each province and representatives of the Government of the Commonwealth, and presided over by an officer of the Commonwealth, to institute an enquiry into (a) the sources of revenue which may be assigned to the govern-

ment of the Commonwealth and to the governments of the provinces respectively with due regard to the efficient administration and development of the services or subjects under the respective control of either, and (b) the financial relations which should exist between the governments of the Commonwealth and the governments of the provinces, and (c) for the means to be adopted for giving effect to such relations.

(ii) The said Commission shall appoint a committee to examine the whole question of the training of officers for the land, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth and the establishment of the requisite number of schools and colleges for military instruction.

(iii) The committee so appointed shall report to the Commission about the requisite number of such schools and colleges and their staffs, the places where they are to be established, and the standard of instruction to be imparted in each, and an estimate of the initial and maintenance cost of the said schools and colleges.

(iv) The said Commission shall also appoint a committee to investigate and report on the steps to be taken for the introduction of general primary education in the Commonwealth and the affording of special educational facilities for backward classes.

(v) The said Commission shall have the power, to appoint such other committees as it may consider necessary, for the purposes of its inquiry.

(vi) The said Commission shall, in conformity with the principles of this Constitution and with the assistance of such Committee or committees as it may consider desirable to appoint :

(a) take all necessary steps to constitute Karnataka and Andhra into separate provinces ;

(b) take steps to amalgamate the Orissa speaking tracts in the different provinces and constitute this amalgamated area

into a separate province if the people of that area are able or are prepared to bear the financial burden which is incidental to seporation ;

(c) report on the cases of C. P. Hindustani, Kerala and any other linguistic areas which may desire to be constituted into separate provinces ;

(d) re-settle the boundaries of Assam and Bengal, Behar and Orissa and C. P. Hindustani, Kerala and Karnataka in accordance with the principles recommended by the Committee.

(vi) The said Commission shall report to the Governor-General-in-Council on matters recommended in clause (i), and shall make special recommendations fixing minimum charges on the revenues of the Commonwealth and the provinces for the purposes mentioned in (ii), (iii) and (iv).

73. The Governor-General-in-Council shall lay the entire report of the Commission together with its recommendations before Parliament for such legislative or other action as it may deem fit.

74. Pending the completion of the said enquiry, and until Parliament has taken action under clause 68, the existing sources of revenue and the financial relations shall continue to be in force.

Defence

75. (a) The Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Committee of Defence consisting of (1) the Prime Minister, (2) the Minister of Defence, (3) the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (4) the Commander-in-Chief, (5) the Commander of the Air Forces, (6) the Commander of the Naval Forces, (7) the Chief of the General Staff, and two other experts.

(b) The Prime Minister shall be the chairman of the committee; and there shall be a permanent staff including a secretary attached to this committee.

(c) The functions of this committee shall be to advise the Government and the various departments concerned with questions of defence and upon general questions of policy.

81. Parliament may make laws for regulating the classification of the civil services in India, the sources and methods of their recruitment, the conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline necessary.

80. As soon as possible after the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Public Service Commission to make recommendations for such reorganisation and re-adjustment of the departments of the public services as may be necessary.

79. Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding section, all officers of the public services shall, at the establishment of the Commonwealth, become officers of the Commonwealth.

The Civil Services

78. No measure affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth, shall be introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the Committee of Defence appointed under this constitution.

77. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the foregoing provisions, the Governor-General-in-Council may, in the event of any foreign aggression in India by land, air or sea, or upon his being satisfied that there is a reasonable apprehension of such aggression, authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety of British India or any part thereof. Such action taken by the Governor-General shall be reported by him immediately to the Legislature, if in session, or if the Legislature in session, or if the Legislature is not in session, to a special session to be summoned as soon as possible thereafter.

76. The proposals of the Governor-General-in-Council for the appropriation of revenues or monies classified as "Defence", shall be submitted to the vote of the House of Representatives.

(d) As soon as the committee is appointed the Governor-General-in-Council may take the advice of the Committee of Defence as to the practicability and means of effecting a retrenchment in the expenditure on defence compatibly with the safety of India. The estimates shall be framed according to the recommendations of the committee.

and conduct. Parliament may also, to such extent and in respect of such matters as it may prescribe, delegate the power of making rules under the said laws to the Governor-General-in-Council or to local governments.

82. (i) After the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General-in-Council shall appoint a Permanent Public Service Commission with such powers and duties relating to the recruitment, appointment, discipline, retirement and superannuation of public officers as Parliament shall determine.

(ii) Members of the permanent Public Service Commission shall hold office for five years from the date of appointment. 83. Any officer of the public services who desires to retire within three years of the establishment of the Commonwealth, or is not retained in the service of the Commonwealth, shall be entitled to receive such pension, gratuity or other compensation as he would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

The Army Services

84. All officers, British and Indians, serving in the army, the navy, the Royal Indian Marine, or the Air Force of India, serving in India at the commencement of the new constitution, shall retain all their existing rights as to salaries, allowances, or pensions or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them, as the Governor-General-in-Council may consider just and equitable or as they would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

Further all such officers, British or Indian who were in receipt of pensions at the date of the commencement of the new constitution, shall continue to receive the same from the revenues of India.

Indian States

85. The Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States,

arising out of treaties or otherwise, as the Government of India has hitherto exercised and discharged.

In case of any difference between the Commonwealth and any Indian State on any matter arising out of treaties, engagements, sanads or any other documents the Governor-General-in-Council may, with the consent of the State concerned, refer the said matter to the Supreme Court for its decision.

New Provinces

86. The re-distribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis on the demand of the majority of the population of the area concerned, subject to financial and administrative considerations.

Amendment of the Constitution

87. Parliament may, by law, repeal or alter any of the provisions of the constitution. Provided that the bill embodying such repeal or alteration shall be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading shall be agreed to by not less than *four-fifths of those present*. A bill so passed at such a joint sitting shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament. *Note:—*The following are the recommendations on communal and other controversial matters.

Communal representation

1. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslims in the N. W. F. Province. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population to the non-Muslim population in N. W. F. Province, the Muslims or non-Muslims where reservation is allowed to them shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces

(a) there shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal *provided that the question of com-*

annual representation will be open for reconsideration if so desired by any community after working the recommended system for 10 years.

(b) in provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservations of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats ;

(c) in the N. W. F. Province there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats, where allowed, shall be for a fixed period of ten years. *Provided that the question will be open for reconsideration after the expiration of that period if so desired by any community.*

Redistribution and status of provinces

V. Simultaneously with the establishment of Government under this constitution Sind shall be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province.

Provided

(1) after an enquiry it is found

(a) that Sind is financially self-supporting, or

(b) in the event of its being found that it is not financially self-supporting, on the scheme of separation being laid before the people of Sind with its financial and administrative aspects, the majority of the inhabitants favour the scheme and express their readiness to bear the financial responsibility of the new arrangement ;

(2) that the form of Government in Sind shall be the same as in the other provinces under the constitution :

(3) that the non-Muslim minority in Sind shall be given the same privileges in the matter of representation in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as the Muslim minorities are given under this constitution in areas where they are in a minority.

VI. The N. W. F. Province, Baluchistan, and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the same form of Government as the other provinces in India.

SCHEDULE I

CENTRAL SUBJECTS

commerce with other countries and in India and
including, financial or foreign corporation in India.
including the taxation assigned under this constitu-
parts of them; but including customs, reve-
x, super-tax, corporation profits tax, opium,
its cultivation, manufacture, and sale, export

production or export of goods.

lay on the credit, assets and the property
the public debt of the Government of the

ge and legal tender.

insurance and savings banks; the incorporation
of paper money and stock exchanges.

ge, cheques, *hundies* and promissory notes.

avigation, including shipping and navigation
ays as may be declared to be of national
major ports, lighthouses, beacons, lightships,

roads of all India and military importance.

matters connected therewith.

ns and telephones including wireless communi-

of India and all matters connected with the
forces of the Commonwealth, including militia,
and any other force raised in India other than
police wholly maintained by the provincial
nd military works and cantonments; schools
ry, naval and air training.

13. Foreign and external relations including relation States in India and political charges; domicile, naturalisation; aliens; passports; and pilgrimages beyond India.
14. Emigration and immigration.
15. Post quarantine and marine hospitals.
16. The Commonwealth Public Services and the Commonwealth Public Service Commission.
17. The Audit department of the Commonwealth.
18. The Supreme Court of India, and legislation relating to Courts.
19. Civil Law including laws regarding status, contract, civil rights and liabilities and civil procedure.
20. Criminal Law including criminal Procedure and extra Laws.
21. Bankruptcy and insolvency.
22. Legislation regarding marriage, divorce and matrimonial matters, parental rights, the custody and guardianship of infants, their status and age of majority.
23. Copyright; newspaper and books; patents of inventions and designs and trade marks.
24. Land acquisition by or for the purpose of the Government of the Commonwealth.
25. Laws relating to registration of deeds and documents.
26. Laws relating to registration of birth, death and marriage.
27. Census and statistics.
28. Laws relating to the Control of arms and ammunition.
29. (a) Laws relating to the Control of petroleum and explosives (b) Laws relating to the Control of poisons.
30. The standards of weights and measures.
31. Fisheries in Indian waters beyond the three miles limit.
32. Survey of India; geological survey and astronomical meteorological observations.
33. Parliamentary elections.
34. The seat of the Government of the Commonwealth.
35. Inter-provincial matters.
36. Factory legislation.



